Imprimatur.

Geor. Stradling S. T. P. Reverendo in Christo Patri Gilberto Episc. Lond. a sacris Domest.

Ex. Æd. Sabaud.
14. *Jun.* 1662.

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Self-contradiction censured,

OR

A Caveat against inconstancy, and the inconsistent contrariety of the same mens pretences, principles, opinions and practices,

Dialogue-wise digested into a deliberative discourse between

Affection and *Judgement*;

AND

Intended to serve as spiritual Physick for two great diseases of Phanatick spirits,

HYPOCRITICAL DECEITFULNESS,

AND

ENTHUSIASTICAL DELUSION.

By *Christopher Harvey* Vicar of *Clifton* upon *Dunsmore* in the County of *Warwick*.

BIBL. CANT. ROAD.

GAL. II. 18.

If I build again the things which I destroyed, I make my self a transgressor.

LONDON, Printed by *R. Norton* 1662.

1396:99

To the right reverend Father in God,

GILBERT Lord BISHOP of LONDON,

And President of the CONVOCATION IN THE *Province of Canterbury.*

My Lord,

THis *discourse I penned in the year* 1642. *under the borrowed name of* Irenæus Philalethes. *Since when, some written copies of it have privately passed thorow many hands, not without approbation from some, both loyal Subjects of the Crown, and obedient sons of the Church of* England:

gland: *unto whom, for their emi-*
nent worth, I have great reason to
to bear much respect. That now,
being altogether a stranger, I take
upon me the boldness, in mine own
name, and publickly, to present it
with my humble service to your
Lordship, is because I am confident-
ly perswaded, that you are a very
zealous, & will be a constant Asser-
tour of that religious Loyalty, which
is pleaded for in this discourse Con-
cerning which, although I must con-
fess, that there is no such appearance
of learning, art or wit in it, as may
be sufficient to render it considerable
unto curious heads, yet I hope there
is some such evidence of truth and
sincerity, with peaceable humility &
moderation, as may serve to shew
it not unfit for entertainment among st
honest

honeſt hearts. Howſoever I am perſwaded, that there is nothing in it, which will be offenſive unto any, except they be ſuch, as think themſelves wiſer then the holy Scriptures can make them, or purpoſe to promote their own particular and private ends, although it be to the general and publick prejudice of Chriſtianity: Whom I never did either deſire to pleaſe by complying with them, or fear to offend by diſſenting from them: but in all the long time of my almoſt perpetual ſufferings, in one kind or other, have ſtill lived in a confident and patient expectation of that, which now with joy and gladneſs I behold, the happy Reſurrection in our land of Chriſtian Orthodox Principality and Prelacy, or Monarchy and Hie-

vareby in abstracto: which I have ever esteemed to be the most lively representations of the two witnesses, Rev. 11. and most exactly comparable unto them, if not rather purposely intended by them (as I have intimated in the 25. Section of the right Rebel) and that all their adherents were in a far more comfortable condition, when most abased in their own wants, then any of their enemies could be, when they most abounded with the spoils of other men. Blessed be the God of peace, that of his abundant mercy hath once again spoken peace unto his people, and restored comfort unto them and their mourners: He of his infinite goodness give them grace, not as pretended onely, but as real Saints indeed, to continue in his goodness,

goodneſs, and never to turn again unto any of their former follies. That your Lordſhip may live long on earth to enjoy the comforts, and to laſt in heaven receive the reward of all that you have done, and ſhall do worthily, for the glory of God, and the good of his Church, is, and ſhall be the prayer of,

Your Lordſhips very humble

and obſequious ſervant,

Chriſtopher Harvey.

The Author to the Readers.

Chriſtians Readers,

I Mean you which make account, that under God one day, your own conſciences, either muſt be your moſt cordial comforters, or will be your moſt bitter adverſaries, I earneſtly intreat you, by all that is, or can be dear unto you, to credit me in this, that this diſcourſe is not offered to the view of others, with any intent of purpoſe to raiſe ſcruples in the minds of any, who exerciſe themſelves to have alwayes a conſcience void of offence toward God and toward men; but to put ſome men in minde of their

their own unadviſed raſhneſs, who uſe to take up both pretences, principles, opinions and practices on truſt from others, and (being carried with the current of example) to follow on in the tract they ſee traced before them, although for ought they know, it may be but a by-way, *non quà eundum, ſed quà itur.* Whereof God himſelf did long ago give warning, when he ſaid, *Thou ſhalt not follow a multitude to do evil*, Exod. 23. 2. and Be *no more children toſſed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the ſlight of men, and cunning craftineſs, whereby they lie in wait to deceive; But ſpeaking the truth in love, grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Chriſt,*

Christ, Eph. 4. 14, 15. Dayly experience tells us what a ſtrong compulſive power example hath, and he knew well enough that ſaid *Vivitur exemplo*. When *St. Peter* at *Antioch withdrew, and ſeparated himſelf from the Gentiles, fearing them which were of the circumciſion, the other Jews diſſembled with him, inſomuch that Barnabas alſo was caried away with their diſſimulation* Whereupon *St Paul* complained, that he compelled the *Gentiles to live as did the Jews*, *Gal.* 2. 12, 13, 14 And whether the publick diſtractions of our times, not only in matters of Religion, and Church government, but likewiſe of the State and Commonwealth, may not be juſtly imputed unto the weakneſs of

thoſe

thoſe mens reſolutions, who (ſuffering themſelves to be carried away with the wind and tide of popular applauſe, or a prevailing faction) have ſought to pleaſe others, by complying with them in their opinions and practices, rather then unto any weight of argument, & ſtrength of reaſon, whereby their judgements might be ſwaid, and drawn that way, I leave it to be reſolved by them, who ſeriouſly conſider what St. *Pauls* cenſure is of them that troubled the Galatians about circumciſion, *Gal.* 6, 12, 13. *As many as deſire to make a fair ſhew in the fleſh conſtrain you to be circumciſed, onely leſt they ſhould ſuffer perſecution for the croſs of Chriſt. For neither they themſelves, who*

are

are circumciſed keep the law, but deſire to have you circumciſed, that they may glory in your fleſh. As though their intent and aim were not to ſtand faſt in one ſpirit, with one mind, ſtriving together for the faith of the Goſpel: but having mens perſons in admiration, becauſe of advantage, to make a party, and maintain a ſide, oppreſſing others with an heavy load of prejudice, and bolſtering up their own with a potent prop of partiality. And they prevailed ſo far that way, that though *St. Paul* withſtood *St. Peter* to his face, and gave no place by ſubjection to the falſe brethren, no not for an hour, that the truth of the Goſpel might continue with the Gala-

tians,

tians, yet he was afraid of them, leſt he had beſtowed labour upon them in vain: and is forced to break out into that terrible Apoſtolical imprecation, *I would they were even cut off that trouble you.* Which imprecation although I dare not imitate him in, with relation to any particular perſons, yet, with an indefinite generality of comprehenſion only, I hope I may be bold to ſay, as he doth, *He that troubleth you ſhall bear his judgement, whoſoever he be.* Such troubles *St. Paul* not onely met with in the Churches where he had to do, as appeareth almoſt in all his Epiſtles, but likewiſe hath fortold unto others, which to the end that all might be freer from the danger of, he not only gives ordi-

ordinary Christians warning to beware of them, but especially layes a weighty charge upon them that are watchmen over others, upon that occasion, to take heed unto themselves, and to all the flock, over which the holy Ghost hath made them Overseers. And to that purpose he sets divers marks upon them whom he would have to be avoided: as, *Acts* 20.29,30. *Grievous wolves, not sparing the flock, speaking perverse things to draw away disciples after them.* Rom. 16.17, 18. *which cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned: they serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly; and by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple.* 1 Cor. 3.4, *One saith, I am*

of Paul, and another, I am of Apollo. 2 Cor. 10. 12. *Measuring themselves by themselves, and comparing themselves amongst themselves.* Gal. 1. 7. *That trouble you and would pervert the Gospel of Christ.* Gal. 2. 4 *False brethren unawares brought in, who came in privily to spie out our liberty, which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage.* Gal. 4 17. *They zealously affect you, but not well: yea, they would exclude you (or us) that you might affect them.* Phil. 1. 15, 16. *Some preach Christ of envy and strife, of contention not sincerely.* Phil. 2. 21. *All seek their own not the things which are Jesus Christs.* 1 Tim. 1. 5, 6, 7. *which having swarved from the end of the Commandment, have turned aside unto vain jangling, Desiring*

to

to be teachers of the law, understanding neither what they say, nor whereof they affirm. 1 Tim. 4.1,2. *Giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of Devils, speaking lyes in hypocrisie, having their consciencies seared with an hot iron.* 1 Tim. 6.4,5. *Proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions, and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, raylings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, supposing that gain is godliness.* 2 Tim. 3.6,7,8. *Which creep into houses, and lead captive silly women, laden with sins, led away with divers lusts, ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth. Now as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do these also resist the truth:*

men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith. 2 Tim. 4. 3, 4. *The time will come, when they will not endure ſound doctrine, but after their own luſts ſhall they heap to themſelves teachers having itching ears: And they ſhall turn away their ears from hearing the truth, and ſhall be turned unto fables.* Tit. 1. 9, 10, 11. *Gain-ſayers, unruly and vain talkers and deceivers, who ſubvert whole houſes teaching things which they ought not for filthy lucre ſake.* ver. 16. *They profeſs that they know God: but in works they deny him, being abominable and diſobedient, and to every good work reprobate.* Agreeable whereunto is that which we find foretold by St. *Peter*, in the ſecond Chapter of his ſecond Epiſtle, and complained of by *St. Jude*: eſpecially

ally that which ſeemeth to be the moſt peculiar and proper ſin of theſe times, *deſpiſing dominion, and ſpeaking evil of dignities.* The truth of all which, although in the general it cannot be denyed, yet in the particular application thereof is bandied like a tennis ball by Chriſtians of ſeveral profeſſions againſt one another, none daring to let it reſt on their ſide, leſt withal they ſhould be forced to confeſs a loſs. Which though it may appear to be an argument of that generous diſpoſition which the very name and title of a Chriſtian ſeems to bring with it, poſſeſſing them that profeſs themſelves ſuch, with a general averſneſs to acknowledge any thing as juſtly laid unto their charge, which they

ſuſpect may barr them of that claim: yet I cannot conceive it altogether to agree with that ingenuity, or rather ſincerity, by which the ſpirit of truth may be diſtinguiſhed from the ſpirit of errour, whoſe property it is to make men willing to confeſs the truth, although it be againſt themſelves, and to acknowledge with *St. Paul*, that they *can do nothing againſt the truth, but for the truth*, 2 Cor 13. 8. For truth, as the God of truth, is but one, and can no more contradict it ſelf, then ceaſe to be: ſo that they who are once convicted of untruth, muſt of neceſſity either acknowledge themſelves in an errour, or elſe be left for ever inexcuſable, unleſs they can ſhew ſome ſpecial priviledge, by which they are exempted

exempted from the general condition of all mankind. In which reſpect, methinks, there is no equity at all in recriminations, unleſs the parties accuſed can as well acquit themſelves, as charge their accuſers. Which though ſome men may do ſufficiently in ſome particulars, yet that any man can do in all, I cannot eaſily believe, until I ſee ſome limitation put upon that general pronunciate of *St. James*, Jam. 3.2. *In many things we offend all*: and that by the ſame authority, by which he ſpake it. So that laying aſide all partiality unto our ſelves, and prejudice againſt others, I ſuppoſe the readieſt, and indeed the onely ſure and certain means, to decide all controverted points, either of

opinion or practice amongst men, purposely maintained and avowed by them, is to examine them how they agree with that which they pretend; and that which they pretend, with that which all good Christians are agreed upon, the clear and undoubted principles of religion, so plainly expressed in the holy Scripture, that an ordinary understanding may easily apprehend the meaning of them. I mean not so, that every one who hears them shall be effectually wrought upon both to believe them, and obey them, or be enlightned so, as to see evidence of truth in every conclusion, that in direct form of argument may be deduced from them: but so, that he agrees with others, in the gene-

general ſence and underſtanding of them, and will acknowledge, that what is contrary therennto cannot be truth. In which regard, though many men have done worthily in confirming the truth, and convincing gainſayers, yet I conceive the moſt effectual means to reduce them that wander from the errour of their wayes, is to repreſent unto them apparent evidences of their own inconſtant contradictions, and the irreconciliable inconſiſtence of their own opinions and practices. For who ſhall juſtifie him that is condemned of himſelf? Or, what exception can any man take to his own evidence? *Out of thy own mouth will I condemn thee*, ſaith our Saviour in the parable, *Luk.* 19. 22. and, *Thou*

that

that teacheſt another, teacheſt thou not thy ſelf? ſaith St. *Paul*, *Rom.* 2. 21. Such an argument *ad hominem*, although it be not alwayes ſufficient to confirm what men undertake themſelves to maintain, yet may it be very available to convince their opponents, either of errour, or enormity: which as I conceive there is no man but is ſubject to, ſo hardly can I think any man ſo unreaſonable, but in his more retired thoughts he will acknowledge it unto himſelf, although peradventure, if not modeſty, yet pride will make him unwilling to confeſs it unto others. To ſet ſuch men before themſelves, and bring them to take notice of that which their own deceitful hearts would fain conceal from them, I have taken

taken this pains. Wherein I ſhall have this advantage, that if it conduce not any thing to the publick good of others, yet I my ſelf in private may make uſe of it. For firſt, by this I hope it will appear, that the courſe which I have held (whatever ſucceſs it may meet with for the preſent) was not unadviſedly and raſhly undertaken, but upon ſerious conſideration; and that I could not with a good conſcience, alter my practice, unleſs I had been ſufficiently convinced of errour in mine opinion. And ſecondly it may be that which I ſeek to teach others, I may have occaſion to learn my ſelf, or at leaſt many times to renew the remembrance of it. And I ſhall take it thankfully from them, that will

will favour me ſo much, as to inform of mine own contradictions, if they finde me in any. Which that I may expect, with all the freedom that I can from a perſonal ingagement, I make bold to continue the uſe of the ſame borrowed name, under which I have formerly ſhadowed my ſelf.

October 21. 1642.

Irenæus Philalethes.

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Self-

Self-contradiction censured,

In a

Dialogue between

AFFECTION & JUDGMENT.

SECT. I.

An Introduction to the ensuing discourse.

SIR,

Affection. THE discourse which you fell into the other day, concerning the necessity of a right judgement, a good understanding, and a good conscience in all things, made then so deep an impression in my minde, that since it hath given me occasion to enter into a more serious consideration of mine own wayes, and to examine both mine actions and intentions more narrowly then heretofore. And now I

would gladly make use of this opportunity, to advise with you in some particulars, of which, if my resolution should be only ruled by my self, peradventure I might finde cause hereafter to repent me.

Judgment. I am glad that discourse wrought with you so well: for the truth is, my special aime therein was at your good, having for the love I bear you often observed your behaviour, and sometimes seen you so carried away with a vehement desire of compassing the ends you aimed at, without due consideration of the means, whereby you might attain unto them; sometimes so transported with a liking of the wayes which you were in, without looking to the end whereat they might arrive; sometimes so applauding some mens persons, and so admiring their graces, without taking any notice at all of their infirmities; sometimes so detesting some mens particular opinions and practices, that yon have fallen into a general disliking of their persons, and vilifying all (though otherwise good) that they have had

had any hand at all in; that I have almost been ready to accuse my self of a mistake, and to resolve that it was not *Affection* which I had set mine eyes upon, but Affectation. But if you be resolved hereafter to use more circumspection, I shall be as ready to assist you with the best advice I can, as you to desire it.

Aff. There is nothing, whereby you may oblige me more, nor can I imagine how I should testifie my thankfulness better, then by resolving for the future to follow your directions, and for the present freely to unfold my doubts unto you.

Judg. As for your doubts, you shall do well to deal freely in discovering them: but for my directions, you had better reserve your resolution of following them, until you see reason to induce you thereunto. For *Judgement* is in danger sometimes to be blinded, as well as *Affection* is to be ensnared: and therefore it is best, that we both joyn together to assist one another in using the means, whereby we may come to be rightly informed, both what we should think, and what we

ſhould do, and wait for a bleſſing upon our endeavours, from him who giveth unto all men liberally, and upbraideth not.

Aſſ. That bleſſing I hope he will not withhold, having begun already to give it, by directing you ſo rightly your ſelf to ſingle out the main particulars, concerning which my purpoſe was to deſire your adviſe: *viz.* the propoſal of the ends which I ought to aim at, the choice of the means, which I ſhould uſe to thoſe ends, and that eſteem I ought to have them in, whom I obſerve to be richly adorned with eminent graces, or notoriouſly overtaken with falſe opinions, or evil practices. And as before I apprehended a poſsibility, that hereafter I might be, ſo now by your ſpeech I perceive there is ſome cauſe I ſhould ſuſpect, that I have been already miſtaken in that kinde.

Judg. Nor do you need to wonder at it, and to think it ſtrange, ſince it is no more then humane frailty maketh all men ſubject to, and that which the beſt ſometimes have had too much experience

ence of: as I shall shew you by particular examples, if you will propound your particular doubts concerning each of them in order.

Sect. II.

Of the ends which men do, or should propose unto themselves in all their actions.

Aff. IF you be so pleased then, I will begin with that, which is the first in all mens intentions, the end which they propose unto themselves in all their actions: and which for mine own part, I conceive is the principal thing to be enquired of. This I am resolved should be the advancement of the glory of God: and that nothing should be intended at all, but that which may be, not possibly onely, but necessarily also, or probably at least subservient thereunto.

Judg. So far you are right. But I doubt all men are not of the same minde: for St. *Paul* in his time found it otherwise.

Phil. 1. 15, 16, 17. He saith, *Some indeed preach Christ even of envy and strife, and some also of good will. The one preach Christ of contention, not sincerely, supposing to adde affliction to my bonds: But the other of love, knowing that I am set for the defence of the Gospel.* And speaking of *Timothy. Phil.* 2. 20, 21. He saith, *I have no man like minded, who will naturally care for your state. For all seek their own, not the things which are Jesus Christs.* Whereby it appeares, that St. *Paul* not onely thought it possible that some men might, but likewise found it by experience true, that many men did propose unto themselves one end in pretence, and another in truth. Nay, that which is yet more miserable, mens own deceitful hearts many times are apt to carry them away with a false perswasion of their own ends, and make them think they seek indeed the glory of God, when in truth it is but their own repute and credit amongst men.

Come with me, and see my zeal for the Lord, saith *Jehu* to *Jehonadab*, 2 *Kings* 10. 16. *Yet Jehu took no heed to walk in the law of the Lord God of Israel with all his heart: for he*

he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam, which made Israel to sin. vers. 31. *Jehu* it seems had more regard to his own royalty, then Gods religion, notwithstanding his pretended zeal for the Lord. What a fair intent of doing justice unto every man did *Absalom* profess, 2 *Sam.*15. 4. when his purpose was to steal the hearts of the men of *Israel* from their own King, and his own father, *David*? And how did he make the pretended payment of a vow, which he had vowed to the Lord, in *Hebron*, the colour of his escape from *Jerusalem*, and a cloak to cover his conspiracy? So usual a thing it is, as *Solomon* observes; *Prov.*26.23,25. to finde *the potsheard of a wicked heart covered with the silver dross of burning lips*, and for him that speaketh fair to have *seven abominations in his heart.*

SECT. III.

How to try the truth of our own pretended ends.

Aff. THat this is too often true I dare not deny: but the difficulty is to

discover this deceit. For *counsel in the heart of man is as deep water.* Prov. 20.5. and though *a man of understanding may draw it out*, yet every man is not alwayes furnished with means sufficient to that purpose. Therefore you shall do me a special pleasure, if you will give me some rules of direction to guide my self by in the trial both of mine own and other mens pretended ends.

Judg. For your own, as it concerns you most to be well assured of the truth of your intentions, so the means are more certain, if you will deale sincerely with your self in the use of them. The principal is to beg of God, that he would discover you unto your self, as *David* doth, *Psal.* 26.2. *Examine me, O Lord, and prove me, try my reins and my heart*: and *Psal.* 139.23, 24. *Search me, O God, and know my heart: try me, and know my thoughts: And see if there be any wicked way in me.* As it is he that knoweth, so it is he that *declareth unto man what is his thought. Am.* 4.13. And if you be not willing to have your intentions thus tried and discovered unto you by him, but dig deep to hide

hide your counsels from the Lord, you have just cause to suspect, that your heart goes about to deceive you, and that you purpose something else then you pretend. Subordinate unto this may be your examination and tryal of your self in two particulars.

First, if your pretended end be that which you intend indeed, you will not rest satisfied with any thing else, until you have attained it: nay rather you will be impatient of every thing (though otherwise good and convenient) that you think may intercept, or interrupt the accomplishment of what you mainly desire. Thus *Abrahams* servant shewed plainly, that he came not unto *Labans* house for entertainment, but dispatch of his business, when he said, *I will not eat, till I have told mine errand. Gen.* 24. 23.

Secondly, if your pretended end be that which you intend indeed, you will rest satisfied with the accomplishment of that, although you fail of other things, which otherwise you might have had: nay rather you will be glad, and desire

to be deprived of, or debarred from any thing elſe, (how good, or convenient ſoever it may be) by looſing whereof the fruition of your main intended may be furthered. Thus *St. Paul* ſhews plainly, that the propagation and defence of the Goſpel was his main deſign, when he ſaith, *None of theſe things move me, neither count I my life dear unto my ſelf, ſo that I may finiſh my courſe with joy, and the miniſtry, which I have received of the Lord Jeſus, to teſtifie the Goſpel of the grace of God.* Acts 20. 24. Thus *Mephiboſheth* ſhewed plainly, that he was ſincerely indeed affected unto *David's* ſafety, when he was content to have parted, not onely with the half of his eſtate, but even with the whole, unto his own treacherous ſervant *Ziba*, ſo long as he ſaw the *King come again in peace to his own houſe.* 2 Sam. 19. 30.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

How to judge of other mens intentions, whether they be agreeable to their pretences, or no.

FOr other mens intents, though you cannot so certainly know them, as your own, nor need alwayes to enquire after them: yet, when they are of publick and common concernment, and are urged as motives to draw you into action with them, it behoves you to take heed, that your opinions of them be not lightly undertaken, but upon good ground of reason: which must be gathered from that evidence you find of likelyhood and probability (for absolute assured certainty there can be none) that what they pretend they purposely aim at, and intend indeed: and in the right apprehension, and application, of that evidence especially consists the exercise and use, of that sound wisdom and discretion wherewith a good man guideth his affairs, as the *Psamist* speaks, *Psal.* 112. 5. and

5. and whereby he is taught to walk uprightly and evenly, between that weak and simple partiality, which believeth every word, and that uncharitable prejudice, which not onely suspecteth, but censureth also as unsound, the most seemingly sincere professions. To lend you some light in making this discovery, let me commend to your consideration these particulars.

First, that mens intentions are many times varied by the success of their actions, and they alter their ends, as means, occasions, and opportunities, either frown upon, or favour them. And so sometimes that which was at first intended as an end, comes afterward to be made use of onely as a means unto another end. Thus the end that *Absalom* intended, when he sent *Joab* unto *David*, 2 *Sam.* 14.32. was the regaining of his fathers grace and favour, but afterwards he made use of that grace & favour for another end, the promoting of his treasonable intent of usurping the kingdom, which it may be before he dreamed not of. And somtimes that which was at the first

intended

intended onely as a means unto a further end, comes afterward to be rested in as intended it self, without relation unto any other end. Thus *Jeroboam* and the ten tribes intended, or else pretended, as the onely end they aimed at, the making of their burthens lighter; and their revolt from *Rehoboam* and the house of *David*, seemed onely as a means to compass that end: but afterward they rested in that, as if they had all that they desired, and never regarded to return again to their obedience upon any termes. And sometimes men being crost in the ends that they before intended, and coming to discover the impossibility, inconvenience, or errour of them, utterly forsake them, and set upon others. Thus when St. *Paul went to the high Priest, and desired of him letters to Damascus*, the end he intended was, *that if he found any disciples of the Lord, he might bring them bound unto Jerusalem*, *Acts* 9. 1,2. But when he returned to *Jerusalem*, the end he aimed at was the propagation of the Gospel, and the confirmation of that faith, which once he had destroyed. If therefore you would

would judge aright of other mens intentions, you must be careful to distinguish between their intentions that have been heretofore, and those that are now, otherwise you may be much mistaken.

Secondly consider, that the success of mens actions many times either is, or may be, much different from the ends which they intend in them. Thus *Josephs* brethren intended nothing less then his advancement in *Egypt* by *Pharoah*, when they sold him to the *Ishmaelites*: yet God by that means brought it to pass. And it may be the alteration of Religion to Idolatry was not intended by *Jeroboam* and the ten tribes, when they revolted from the tribe of *Judah*, and rebelled against *Rehoboam*, and the house of *David*, at least they made no shew thereof; but onely the making lighter of that yoak, which they conceived to be grievous and heavy; yet the change of the government quickly brought forth the change of the Religion too. Therefore you may be mistaken, if you think that alwayes to have been the end intended in other mens actions, which you finde to be the effect

effect that followeth thereupon: or if you think, that ſuch an effect will never follow upon ſuch an action, becauſe it is not the end intended in it.

Thirdly conſider, that many men imployed, at the ſame time, in the ſame action, may notwithſtanding have divers intentions, and propoſe unto themſelves different ends. Thus St. *Paul* complains, *Phil.*1, 15,16,17. *Some indeed preach Chriſt even of envy and ſtrife, and ſome alſo of good will. The one preach Chriſt of contention, not ſincerely, ſuppoſing to add affliction to my bonds: but the other of love, knowing that I am ſet for the defence of the Goſpel.* Therefore it is no good conſequence to ſay, Such a man doth the ſame that other men do, therefore he aims at the ſame end with them.

Fourthly conſider, that divers men imployed, at the ſame time, in different actions, may notwithſtanding aim at, and propoſe unto themſelves, one and the ſame end. Thus the thirty thouſand that lay in ambuſh againſt *Ai*, and *Joſhua* with the men of *Iſrael*, that made as though they were beaten before the men

of

of *Ai*, and fled by the way of the wilderneſs, all intended the deſtruction of the City. *Joſh.8.* Thus *Ittai*, that would not be perſwaded to return into *Jeruſalem*, but paſſed over the brook *Kidron* before *David*, and *Zadok* and *Abiathar*, that carried the ark of God again to *Jeruſalem*, and tarried there, and *Huſhai* the Archite, that returned to the City, and abode with Abſolom, all intended *David's* ſafety. 2 *Sam.* 15. Therefore it is no good conſequence to ſay, Becauſe this and that mans actions are different, therefore their ends are not the ſame.

SECT. V.

Some probable occaſions to ſuſpect, although not neceſſary evidences to conclude, what other mens intentions are.

Aff. GIve me leave, Sr. to interrupt you a little. I thought you would have given me ſome rules, whereby I might have known what other mens inten-

intentions are, and whether they purpose that indeed, which they pretend, or no. But for ought I perceive, these considerations which you offer me, are such, as rather tend to darken the discovery, and make me doubt, whether all endeavours in this kind will not prove altogether vain and fruitless.

Judg. How apt you are to be mistaken? My purpose is indeed to give you the best directions that I can, how you may judge of other mens intentions, and not be deceived therein: but first I thought it requisite to let you see, how many wayes you may be misled, and what appearances you ought not alwayes to give heed unto, as necessary evidences to ground a certain resolution on: although I deny not, but that they may give just occasion many times to some suspition, or surmise, especially then when you plainly perceive them agreeable unto, or differing from that which is openly professed and pretended. As if you perceive the ends which any man doth now pretend, to be different from those which he formerly professed to

intend, you may very reasonably suspend your resolution, that he deals sincerely now, untill you have more then his own bare word to warrant it. Thus when St. *Paul* was come to *Heirusalem*, and assayed to joyn himself to the disciples, they were all afraid of him, and believed not that he was a disciple, but *Barnabas* took him and brought him to the Apostles, and declared unto them, how he had seen the Lord in the way, and that he had spoken to him, and how he had preached boldly at *Damascus*, in the name of *Jesus*; and then he was with them coming in and going out at *Heirusalem*. *Acts* 9. 26,27,28. So if you see the success of mens actions directly contrary to the ends, which they pretended to aim at in those actions, and yet that they are well pleased with, and glad of such success, you may probably suspect, that notwithstanding their pretences, the ends which they intended before, were the same with the effects that followed after. And on the contrary, if the success of mens actions be agreeable unto the ends that they pretended, and yet they appear

to

to be grieved with it, and displeased at it, you have then just cause to conceive, that either their pretences before were false, or else that their intentions are altered since. Thus *David* discovereth the falsehood of his feigned friends, indeed his treacherous enemies, by their rejoycing in his adversity. *Psal.* 35. 15. And by their magnifying of themselves against him, when his foot slipped. *Psal.* 38. 16. But *Saul* pretending that he delighted in *David*, and meant his advancement by the marriage of his daughter, desiring no other dowry of him, but an hundred foreskins of the *Philistines*, it plainly appeared, that he meant not truly, but dissembled with *David*, in that he was grieved with his good success, and was the more afraid of him the more he prospered. 1 *Sam.* 18, 12, &c. So when you see many men at the same time, ingage themselves in the same actions, you must have other reasons more then their own professions onely, to induce you to be of another opinion, or else you may very well suppose it probable, that the ends they aim at are

the same. Thus *Sampson* would have the three thousand men, that came to him in the top of the rock *Etam*, to swear unto him, that they would not fall upon him themselves, before he would believe, that coming to binde him, as the *Philistines* did, they meant not to kill him too, *Judg.* 15. 12, 13. And when you hear divers men professing to aim at the same end, and yet notwithstanding see that they engage themselves in different actions, you may probably conjecture, if you should give credit to their bare pretences, that you might be deceived. Thus the disciples, till they were better instructed by our Saviour Christ, *forbad him whom they saw casting out Devils in his name, because he followed not with them.* *Luke* 9. 49. So that every appearance, though it be not a sufficient evidence of truth in that opinion which is guided by it, yet may be an occasion to suppose it so, till further enquiry discover what it is indeed.

SECT.

Sect. VI.

Mens actions and intentions are not alwayes of the same kinde, either good, or bad.

Aff. IT seems then you think, that even in the prosecution of good actions, some men may have evill intentions, and that some men who aim indeed at good ends, may take advantage of some evil Actions to attain them by.

Judg. It is true that they may, for experience shews plainly that they have done so. *Judas* his end in saluting his *Master with a kiss, was to betray him. Mat.* 26. 48,49. *Davids* end, in the kind entertainment he gave unto *Urijah*, was the cloaking of his own adultery. 2 *Sam.* 11. And on the contrary *Hushai* his counterfeit kindness, and professed fidelity to *Absalom*, was purposely intended to defeat *Achitophels* counsel, 2 *Sam.* 16. 26. &c. *Rebecca*, to get the blessing for her son

Jacob, perſwaded him to lye unto his father *Iſaac*, *Gen.*27.8, &c. *Sarah*, to provid for the propagation of the promiſed ſeed, perſwaded her husband *Abraham* to go in unto her hand-maid *Hagar*, *Gen.* 16.2. Therefore to argue the goodneſs of the end from the goodneſs of the action, or that becauſe the action is evil, the end is alſo ſuch, is never a neceſſary, but may be ſometimes a falſe illation.

SECT. VII.

Rules of direction for the better diſcovery of the truth, or falſhood, of the ends, which men pretend.

Aff. WHat other rules of direction will you give me then, whereby I may guide my ſelf better, in diſcovering the truth, or falſhood, of the ends which men pretend?

Judg. Firſt, I would have you, as much you can, to rid your ſelf of all partiality and prejudice, and when you enter

enter upon this enquiry, to do it with all possible indifferency. A preconceived opinion in the mind, like perspective made of coloured glasse, will render every thing as like it self as may be: and if before you enter into your enquiry, you entertain an opinion of other mens pretences, that they are either agreeable unto, or different from, the ends which they intend indeed, it will be a difficult matter to perswade you to the contrary almost by any argument.

Secondly, I would have you to take heed of trusting too much unto any one apparent evidence: for in conjectural cases, where the resolution must be swaied by the most probabilities, many circumstances must concur, as several items, to make up the total sum of that concluded argument, wherewith the mouth of contradiction may be stopped.

Thirdly I would not have you too apt to entertain an opinion that any mans intended ends are otherwise, then he himselfe pretendeth and professeth, without very probable inducements to

perswade you to it. For though distrust as well as dissimulation, be many times more agreeable to humane worldly policy, then confidence and single hearted sincerity; which made him in the Satyre say, *Haud rectè facit, qui facile credit*: yet the rule of religious piety, and Christian charity, is rather to bear, believe, hope and endure all things, then to be easily provoked to think any evil, 1*Cor.*13 5,7. And I would rather have you be mistaken twice, in esteeming better of mens intentions and purposes, then they deserve, then once, in judging worse of them, then you have just cause to do. For though there be a woe pronounced against them, *that call evil good*, as well as against them, *that call good evil*, *Isai.*5.20. Yet of the two (so they do it not wilfully, or carefully) I doubt not but they finde more favour with the Lord, whose own sincerity makes them apt to be deceived by other mens hypocrisie, then they, whose own hypocrisie makes them over-suspitious of other mens sincerity.

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

Pretences are not alwayes to be taken upon truſt from other men.

Aſſ. WEre it not beſt then, for fear of offending in cenſuring too hardly of other mens intentions, to give credit to their own pretences, and take them upon truſt, without any further inquiry concerning them?

Judg. No, for our Saviour requires in his ſheep ſerpentine wildom, as well as dove-like ſimplicity, *Mat.* 10. 16. and St. *John* ſaith expreſly, *Believe not every ſpirit, but try the ſpirits, whether they are of God.* 1 *John* 4. 1. which certainly he would not have done, unleſs it were poſſible as well as neceſſary, and unleſs there were ſome means to do it by, as well as reaſon why it ſhould be done. And that which I have hitherto ſaid, tends not to diſcourage you altogether, from entering upon ſuch an inquiry, but onely to give you warning to be circumſpect and wary

wary what you do, that you may not be deceived with seeming shewes, instead of solid truths.

Sect. IX.

The best means to try the truth, or falshood, of other mens pretences.

Aff. I Pray you then, if you can, at last deliver me of this doubt, how I may discern between falshood and truth, in the pretences, and professions, which other men make of their intended ends.

Judg. This it were easier to do in some particular cases, then to give any general rule, that shall hold indifferently in all. Yet as well as I can, I will indeavour to satisfie your desire therein. And to that purpose I would have you consider, that as unity and verity are alwayes inseparable companions, so falshood is seldome or never severed from such variety, as makes it inconsistent with it self, which gives occasion to that common saying, *Oportet mendacem esse memorem.*

Our

Our *Saviour* himself speaking of the devil, the father of lies, saith, *He was a murtherer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. John* 8.44. His meaning is not, that the devil can never speak any truth at all, but that he cannot continue constant to that truth he speaks: the truth is not in him, no more then he is of the truth: and the truth that he speaks sometimes, is an evidence against him, that at other times he lies. Thus the spirit that undertook to perswade *Ahab*, that he might go up, and fall at *Ramoth Gilead*, spake truth, when he said, *he would go forth, and be a lying spirit in the mouth of Ahabs prophets*, 1 *Kings* 22.22. But he quickly fell off again from that truth, when he contradicted *Micaiah*, by the mouth of *Zedekiah*, and pretended himself to be the spirit of the Lord. *They went out from us*, saith St. *Paul*, *but they were not of us: for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us: but they went out, that they might be made manifest, that they were not all of us*, 1 John 2.19. and Chap.4.5, 6. *They are of the world, therefore speak they of the*

world

world, and the world heareth them. We are of God: he that knoweth God heareth us: hereby know we the spirit of truth, and the spirit of errour. By this I suppose it may appear, that the best means to try the truth of other mens pretences, is to examine their own agreement with themselves, and how they keep constant to their own professed principles: for if it appear, that indeed they contradict themselves, and that there is an inconsistent contrariety between the ends that they pretend to aim at, and the principles upon which they ground their proceedings in action, as with relation to those ends, they must of necessity confess a falsehood in the one, or in the other, and either renounce their own principles, and so condemn their own actions, or else, if they will stick fast unto those, and justifie these, you may certainly conclude, that what ever they did before, yet now they aim at other ends than they pretend. For actions are never undertaken as means, but with relations unto ends, and it is impossible, that any man should purposely persist in the

the uſe of thoſe as means, which he knows are deſtructive of the ends which he intends. This I ſuppoſe is that which St. *Paul* aims at, when he ſaith, *If I build again the things which I deſtroyed, I make my ſelf a tranſgreſſor.Gal.* 2, 18. and I doubt not but it would have been as true, if he had ſaid, *If I deſtroy again the things which I had built. A man that is an heretick* ſaith the ſame Apoſtle, *after the firſt and ſecond admonition reject: Knowing that he that is ſuch is ſubverted, and ſinneth, being condemned of himſelf. Tit.* 3. 10, 11. And though there be no note of connexion between thoſe two verſes, and the two former, yet it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the Apoſtle hath placed theſe words next unto thoſe, wherein he had ſaid, *This is a faithful ſaying, and theſe things I will that thou affirm conſtantly, that they which have believed in God might be careful to maintain good works: theſe things are good and profitable for men. But avoid fooliſh queſtions, and genealogies, and contentions and ſtrivings about the Law: for they are unprofitable and vain.* As intimating, that the ſelfe condemnation of hereticks appears

pears in this, that the errors in opinion, and enormities in action, which they purpoſely maintain and practiſe, are contrary to, and inconſiſtent with the ends, which they profeſs to aime at, namely, the glory of God in their own and other mens eternal good, and ſpiritual profit, *that they may be made heires, according to the hope of eternal life*, as he ſpeaks *ver.* 7. ſo that if you ſee men avow ſuch actions, allow themſelves liberty to keep ſuch courſes, and plead ſuch principles in their defence, as are contrary to, and inconſiſtent with the ends which they pretend, you have reaſon to ſuſpect their pretences to be falſe: if when that inconſiſtent contrariety is plainly diſcovered, and made known unto them, they renounce thoſe principles, condemn themſelves for thoſe practiſes, and apply themſelves afterwards unto thoſe other courſes, which are undoubtedly available unto thoſe ends, you have good cauſe then to conceive, that what they profeſſed they purpoſely intended, and that in undertaking thoſe actions, and urging thoſe principles to ground them on,

on, they did but *humanum pati*, discover that common infirmity, which all mankind is subject to, *errare, labi, decipi*, and so deserve rather to be censured of ignorance and misunderstanding, then of hypocrisie and dissimulation. But if when the inconsistent contrariety of the means they use, and the ends they pretend to aim at, is evidently demonstrated, and laid open before them, they either wilfully shut their eyes, and will not see it, or obstinately persist in their courses notwithstanding, you may then conclude (with as much certainty as other mens intentions can be known with) that those ends, which they intend indeed, are not the same which they make shew of, and profess.

SECT. X.

The same illustrated by some Examples.

Aff. IN this that you have said there seems to be so much evidence of truth

truth, that I do not see what can be objected against it. Yet I should be better satisfied, if you would be pleased to illustrate it a little, with some few particular examples.

Judg. For the first, that there is cause to suspect those men of falsehood in their pretences, whose courses are inconsistent with the ends which they profess to aim at, you may see by *St. Paul*, who blamed St. *Peter*, and withstood him to his face, when he saw that he walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the Gospel, and said unto him, *If thou being a Jew livest after the manner of the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews? Gal.* 2. 14. St. *Peters* behaviour in withdrawing and separating himself from the Gentiles for fear of the Jews, was in *St. Pauls* apprehension inconsistent with that Christian liberty, which they both professed to intend the maintenance of, against *the false brethren unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out their liberty, which they had in Christ Jesus, that they might bring them into bondage. ver.* 4. Therefore

fore St. *Paul* saith he was to be blamed, as both dissembling himself, and giving occasion unto others to dissemble with him. If you say, that the dissimulation there was not in the end, but in the action: I grant it true, yet withal I may adde, that the dissimulation was not of the action, but of the end. For the action is alwayes more apparent then the end, and there is greater cause to suspect that which is secret, then that which is open. So that St. *Paul* might well ask St. *Peter*, why he did so, and could not be certainly assured, that he dealt sincerely in publickly professing the end with himself, untill he knew some other seeming reason, that misguided him to take such a contrary course of practise as he did.

For the second, *St Paul* shewed himself indeed to be zealous of the Law, even whilst he was a Pharisee, in that when he was converted, and came to understand, that *Christ was the end of the Law for righteousness to every one that believeth*, *Rom.* 10. 4. and *that the Law of righteousness was not to be attained unto by*

the works of the Law but onely by faith. Rom: 9.30,31,32. he conferred not with fleſh and blood, which would have perſwaded him ſtill to have continued, as he had been formerly, exceedingly zealous of the traditions of his fathers, having *profited in the Jews religion above many of his equals in his own nation,* Gal.1.14, 16. *But what things had formerly been gain unto him, thoſe he counted loſs for Chriſt,* &c. *Phil.*3.7. Not making *void the Law through faith, but eſtabliſhing the Law, Rom.* 3.31. Whereas the Scribes and Phariſees, and the reſt of the unbelieving Jews, rejected or made fruſtrate, and of none effect, the Commandment of God, that they might keep their own traditions: as our Saviour complains, *Mar.*7.6, &c. and taxeth them expreſly of hypocriſie therein: which could not be aſcribed to any falſehood and diſſimulation in their actions (for what they practiſed they purpoſed, as well as profeſſed) but in their ends, which they pretended to be the ſtrict obſervation of the Commandments of God, but meant thoſe doctrines of their own, by which they taught men, not

not to obey, but to transgress the Commandments of God; as there he makes it evident, by their false gloss upon the first Commandment, and upon others, *Mat.*5.17,&c. By vindicating of the Law from which he made it appear, that he came not to destroy, but to fulfil it. And therefore when the Jews accused St. *Paul*, that he taught all men every where against the people, and the Law, and the Temple, *Acts* 21.28. he pleads not guilty unto all: that they neither found him in the Temple disputing with any man, neither raising up the people, neither in the *S*ynagogues: but he openly confesseth, that after the way which they call heresie, so worshipped he the God of his fathers, believing all things which are written in the Law and the Prophets, and having hope towards God, which they themselves also allowed, that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, &c. *Acts* 24.12, &c. and *Acts* 25.8. *Neither against the Law of the Jews, neither against the Temple, nor yet against Cesar have I offended any thing at all.* And therefore though *Tertullus* pretend, that when

they took him they would have judged him according to their Law, & complain of great violence in the chief Captain *Lysias*, when he took him away out of their hands, commanding his accusers to come unto *Felix* the governour to be examined, *Acts* 24.6,7,8. Yet he chargeth *Annanias* the high Priest with injustice, that sitting to judge him after the Law, he commanded him to be smitten contrary to the Law. *Acts* 23.3. And though he himself appeal unto *Cesar*, and say, *I stand at Cesars judgement seat, where I ought to be judged. And if I be an offender, or have committed any thing worthy of death, I refuse not to die: but if there be none of these things, whereof these accuse me, no man may deliver me unto them:* yet he urgeth *Festus* his own knowledge for it, that *unto the Jews he had done no wrong*, *Acts* 25. 10, 11. The reason was, because he did indeed, that which they only pretended to do: as appears by the like apologie, which he makes unto the chief of the Jews at *Rome*, *Acts* 28. 17, &c.

For the third, when *Johanan* the son of

of *Kareah*, and the captains of the forces, and the people that were with him, besought *Jeremiah* to pray unto the Lord for them, *that he might shew them the way, wherein they might walk, and the thing that they might do*, *Jer.*42.2,3. professing that they would obey the voice of the Lord their God what ever it were, *ver.* 5,6. *Jeremiah* tells them plainly *ver.* 20. *that they dissembled in their hearts*, when they said so: and their behaviour afterward made it plainly to appear, that he was not mistaken, when they directly contradicted, not him alone, but themselves also, and said, *As for the word that thou hast spoken unto us in the name of the Lord, we will not hearken unto thee: But we will certainly do whatsoever thing goeth forth of our own mouth*, *Chap.* 44. 16, 17. Thus our Saviour convinceth the Jews, that what ever they pretended, yet he knew that the love of God was not in them, because he came in his fathers name, and they received him not, and yet were ready to receive another, that should come in his own name, *John* 5. 42,43. That for all the great confidence in *Mos-*

which they boasted of, yet they believed him not in deed: *There is one*, saith he, *that accuseth you, even Moses, in whom ye trust. For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me: for he wrote of me.* ver. 45, 46.

By this you may perceive, how necessary it is, that to clear the sincerity of mens pretended ends, they should order all their actions so, and especially produce such principles only to plead for them by, as that there may appear a constant accord and uniformity between them all; and that the apparent contrariety, and inconsistent contradiction of mens actions practised and ends pretended (so long as those actions are avowed and persisted in) is the most unanswerable evidence that can be gathered, of falsehood and hypocrisie in that which they profess to aim at and intend.

SECT.

Sect. XI.

Other evidences for the further perfecting of this discovery.

Aff. But may there not be some other evidences, which joyned with this may help to perfect the discovery?

Judg. I doubt not but there may, and I will give you Instances of some. One shall be this, If you see an understanding and considerate man, that is wont to do nothing but advisedly (for there is no certain hold to be had of them that do all things as at random rashly) making shew to intend some particular end, as conducible, or agreeable unto some other general end, which you are confident he standeth engaged for, and really intends the accomplishment thereof, you may well be perswaded of the truth of that, as well as of this intention. But if there appear an expres contrariety, or inconsistent contradiction, between the

one end and the other, you may easily conceive, that the more particular pretended end (especially if it be not of so great importance to the agent, as the other more general) is not really intended indeed. Thus the *Philistines* general intended end being the oppression of the *Israelites*, and weakening them so, that they might subdue them at their pleasure, it might easily appear, that the policy they used, in suffering no Smith in Israel, was purposely intended, as they said, lest the Hebrews should make them swords or spears: because this particular end was both agreeable, and conduceable unto that general end. 1 *Sam.* 13.9,&c. Thus *Hushai* his faithful friendship unto *David* being generally known, and that he really intended indeed the safety of the King, it was weakly done of *Absolom* and the men of Israel, to believe at the first, without any other evidence besides his own testimony, that *Hushaies* coming unto *Absolom* was purposely intended, as he professed, to serve in his presence, as he had done in his fathers, 2 *Sam.* 16.16,&c. because it agreed not

not with his other more general and more important end, and therefore might justly have been suspected of falsehood and dissimulation.

Another shall be this, If you see an understanding man make profession of proposing such an end unto himself, as you are sure he knows well enough it is impossible for him to obtain, you may easily believe, that he intends it not: nay hardly shall you finde, that any man really intends any end, of which he hath not some probability at least to ground an hopeful expectation upon. Thus had not the Lord of purpose infatuated *Absalom* and the men of Israel, to defeat the good counsel of *Achitophel*, that he might bring evil upon *Absolom*, they might easily have seen, that *Hushai* intended nothing less then *David's* destruction, when he propounded the drawing of that city into the river with ropes, into which he supposed *David* might be gotten, 2 *Sam.* 17.13, 14. a project, if not altogether impossible, yet so improbable, that no reasonable man could imagine he ever intended it indeed.

But

But I will add no more concerning the discovery of other mens intended ends: because as I said before, there is no such absolute certainty therein, but that do the best you can, you may peradventure be mistaken, unless you had that extraordinary gift of discerning spirits, whereof St. *Paul* speaks, 1 *Cor.* 12. 10. which is not now adayes to be expected. Therefore if you will, let us proceed unto your next enquiry, about those actions, which are used as means, for the obtaining of those ends, that are pretended.

SECT. XII.

A real purpose of pretended ends is not enough, unless the intended ends themselves be such as they should be.

Aff. NAy, one thing more before we proceed, I pray you give me leave to enquire further of you. Taking it for granted, that the ends which men

men profess to aim at, are really indeed intended by them, yet that I suppose is not sufficient to warrant them. For though no man I presume will pretend, or can indeed intend any ends, but those which either are indeed, or else at least appear unto him to be good; yet many men I doubt are mistaken in their own ends, and propose those things unto themselves to be obtained, which they ought not to seek.

Judg. It is true as you say: and therefore, as the end of every action, though last in execution, is first in intention, and consequently holds a principal place in the affection of the agent, so the first and chiefest care, about both your own and other mens ends, must be to be rightly informed, whether they be good indeed or no. But for subordinate ends, because in respect of those that are supreme, they are but intermediate means, we shall speak of them afterwards: and for the supreme end of all, you said well at the first, that it must be the advancement of the glory of God, & that nothing must be intended at all, but that which may

be

be probably at least subservient thereunto. Therefore without any further enquiry let us take it for granted, that they who indeed propose unto themselves the advancement of the glory of God, and they who profess and pretend to do so, are so far forth to be approved of: and they that so far neglect the glory of God, as either to propose unto themselves, or pretend unto others, that they aim at such ends, as are altogether contrary unto, or any way inconsistent with, the advancement thereof, are so far forth blame worthy. This I suppose there is no man so impudent as to deny, and therefore I will not go about to prove it, but proceed unto your next enquiry.

SECT.

Sect. XIII.

Inſtances of exceptions, that may be taken to the choice of ſuch means, as may be conducible to the ends, which they are uſed for.

Aff. THe next thing that I deſire to be informed in, is the choice of the means, which I ſhould uſe, for obtaining of the ends, which I propoſe unto my ſelf. Theſe I ſuppoſe muſt be ſuch, as either of neceſsity muſt, or at leaſt in probability may be effectually conducible unto the ends I uſe them for.

Judg. That rule may be generally true, and for the moſt part: yet it is ſubject unto ſome exceptions, and muſt be limited with divers cautions, whereof I will give you theſe particular inſtances.

Firſt, ſome means may be conducible unto the general ſupreme end of all things,

things, the advancement of the glory of God, which are not properly conducible unto some one particular subordinate end, which you may aim at as subservient unto the general. As for example, the advancement of the glory of God was the general supreme end that *St. Paul* aimed at in preaching the Gospel, in preaching the Gospel to the Corinthians freely, and in taking wages of the Philippians, he had divers particular subordinate ends, yet both subservient unto the general, and as the partticular ends were divers, so the means he used to that purpose were different, or rather contrary. That the Philippians should communicate with him, as concerning giving and receiving, he was well content, because he desired fruit that might abound to their account, *Phil.* 4.15,17. But amongst the Corinthians he would be chargeable to no man, that he might cut off occasion from them which desired occasion, 2 *Cor.* 11. 9,12. and being crafty might catch them with guile, 2 *Cor.* 12. 16. To preach the Gospel freely at *Philippi*, and to take wages at *Corinth*,

rinth, though alike conducible unto the ſupreme and general, had yet been deſtructive of the particular ſubordinate ends, that St. *Paul* did aim at and intend.

Secondly, ſome means may be properly conducible unto ſome particular ſubordinate ends, that are not alwayes conducible unto, but rather ſometimes deſtructive of the general ſupreme end. For inſtance, the advancement of the glory of God was the ſupreme end that St. *Paul* aimed at in Preaching the Goſpel: the preſervation of St. *Pauls* life and liberty was a ſpecial ſubordinate end ſubſervient unto that general; which both himſelf was careful of, and the Churches prayed for, *Acts* 23.6,17,&c. *Acts* 25. 10,11. *Phil.* 22. St. *Pauls* forbearance to go up to *Jeruſalem* might in all probability have been a means to preſerve his life and liberty, but had been a means withal to prevent him of that opportunity which there was to be offered unto him, of advancing the glory of God, in being ſet for the defence of the Goſpel, which makes him ſo paſſionately

put

put them off, who earnestly besought and would fain have perswaded him not to go up to *Jerusalem. What mean you to weep and to break my heart, Acts* 21.13. And himself professeth afterward, that the things which happened unto him, had fallen out rather unto the furtherance of the Gospel. *Phil.* 1.12.

Thirdly, some means in the eye of humane sence and reason, may probably seem to be contrary unto, or inconsistent with either the general and supreme, or particular subordinate ends, which men aim at, and yet may be requisite and necessary to be used, for the obtaining of those ends, being specially warranted to that purpose by Gods own direction. Thus to the end that God might advance his own honour, by delivering the Midianites into the hands of the Israelites, *Gideons* army of 32000. must be reduced unto bare 300. by Gods own appointment, *Judg.*7.

Fourthly, some means in the eye of humane sense and reason, may probably appear to be either requisite and necessary, or at least conducible unto the ends

ends intended by them, which yet must not be used, as being either in themselves unlawful, or by some special direction from God prohibited. Thus the cutting off of *Sauls* life had in all probability been a speedy and effectual means of advancing the glory of God, in hastening *David* to the quiet possession of the kingdom of Israel, whereunto he had been ordained by God, and anointed by *Samuel*: yet *David* neither dare himself stretch forth his own hand against the Lords anointed, nor suffer *Abishai* to smite him, 1 *Sam.* 26.8, &c. nay his own heart smote him, because he had cut off *Sauls* skirt, 1 *Sam.* 24. 5. Thus the destruction of the Gibeonites was a probable means to perfect the conquest of the land of *Canaan*, yet the children of Israel might not touch them, because *Joshuah* had made peace with them, and the Princes of the Congregation had sworn unto them: although therein they had dealt unadvisedly, yea contrary to the general direction, which they had received from God himself, *Deut.* 7.2. and in sundry other places: and though

all the Congregation murmured againſt the Princes for it, *Joſh.9.* Yea, when almoſt 400.years after, *Saul* in his zeal to the children of Iſrael and Judah, ſought to ſlay the Gibeonites, God puniſhed it in the dayes of *David*, with three years famine year after year, and God was not intreated for the land, till after that they had performed all that the King had commanded, according to the Gibeonites requeſt, 2 *Sam.*12. So to take the next way thorow the land of the Philiſtines, might appear to be a ready means, for the advancement of Gods glory, in the ſpeedy performance of his promiſe to his people, in putting them into poſſeſſion of the land of *Canaan*, the lot of their inheritance: Yet becauſe God would have it ſo, they muſt be led about, thorow the way of the wilderneſs of the Red ſea, though there they wandered forty years together. *Exod.*13. 17, 18. Nay, rather then go the direct way thorow the country of the Edomites, without the *Kings* leave, he refuſing to permit them paſſage, although they promiſed to behave themſelves peaceably, they muſt turn away

away from him, *Num.* 20. So long before they had kings of their own, did God begin to teach his people what respect was due unto them. Yea, when one day, contrary to Gods appointment, they would go up that way, which the day before they had refused at his commandment to go, God punished their presumption, and suffered them to be chased by their enemies as bees. *Num.* 14.40, &c. *Deut.* 2.1,26,&c.

By this I suppose it may sufficiently appear, that your general rule for the choice of means to be used for the compassing of ends intended, is not so generally true, but that it may meet with some exceptions, and therefore the practise thereof may have need to be limited with cautions.

Sect. XIV.

Means effectually conducible to any end must not be used, if either unlawful in themselves, or unto those that use them.

Aff. IT is true Sr. I can say nothing to the contrary: and therefore, as you have discovered the necessity of cautions in this kind, so I pray you be pleased further to inform me what they are.

Judg. The cautions I conceive may be easily collected out of the former instances: yet for better evidence I shall not think much to answer your desire, and offer to your consideration these particulars,

First, whatever means you have a mind of your self, or are by others advised, directed, perswaded, or commanded to use, as effectually conducible to any end, resolve not upon it, until you have thorowly tryed and examined the law-

lawfulness of it, both in it self and unto you. For you may not do the least evil of purpose to obtain the greatest good, *Rom.* 3. 5, &c. *Job.* 13. 7. Excellently St. *Austin* to this purpose, *lib. contra mendacium ad Consentium.* cap. 7. *Interest quidem plurimùm, qua causa, quo fine, qua intentione quid fiat. Sed ea, quæ constat esse peccata, nullo bonæ causæ obtentu, nullo quasi bono fine, nulla velut bona intentione facienda sunt.* It matters much for what cause, to what end, with what intent a thing is done. But that which is known to be a sin must not be done under any pretence of a good cause, nor as if it were done for any good end, or with any good intention. And a little after in the same Chapter. *Quis istâ dicat, nisi qui res humanas omnesq; conatur mores legesq; subvertere*, &c. As if there were no readier means (as indeed there is not) utterly to undoe the world at once, to digg up the foundation of obedience to all laws, both humane and divine, and to let loose the reins to all impiety, injustice and prophanes, then to suppose it lawful to do evil, that good may come thereof.

Therefore though the end be never so good, which is intended, though the means propounded seem never so requisite and available unto that end, if you cannot use it without sin, you must resolve to let it alone; and that is, when in using that means, you shall do that, which is either unlawful in it self, or else unlawful unto you. And that you must esteem unlawful in it self, which by God is forbidden unto all men in general: that unlawful unto you, which God hath forbidden to your self in particular, or though not unto all men in general, yet to men of such particular places and callings, estates and conditions, as for the present you are in. Thus for the first case, *Lot* should not have offered to prostitute his daughters to the Sodomites, though it were to prevent their intended violence unto the angels. Thus for the second, *Saul* should not have spared any of the cattle of the Amalekites, though it were to offer sacrifice unto the Lord. Thus for the third, *Joab* and *Abiathar*, being subjects, should not have followed *Adonijah*, and helped him, when he exalted

alted himself, saying, I will be King without the knowledge and consent of *David* their supreme soveraign upon earth. Therefore *Joseph*, inticed to lewdness by his Mistris, pleads not impotence so much as impossibility, when he saith, *How shall I do this great wickedness, and sin against God? Gen.* 39. 9. as if what he ought not he could not have done. *Laban*, though he thought he had just cause to complain of *Jacobs* dealing, and power in his hand to do him hurt, yet durst not but forbear, because God had said unto him, *Take heed that thou speak not unto Jacob good or bad, Gen.* 31. 28, 29. *Nehemiah*, though perswaded by a Prophet to go into the Temple to save his life, yet would not, because it was unfit for such a man as he to flee. *Nehem.* 6. 10, &c.

SECT. XV.

Amongst different opinions of what is lawful, or unlawful, necessary or indifferent, in it self, nothing is to be done against conscience.

Aff. SUppose this that you say to be true (and I confesse I know nothing that can be justly objected against it) yet you know there are many particular cases, yea sometimes general questions, not so certainly decided, but that different opinions concerning them are professedly maintained by divers men; one condemning that as utterly unlawful, which another is confident may lawfully be done; one requiring that as absolutely necessary to be done, which another is resolved is either unlawful, or at most but indifferent, and in such cases what course shall I resolve to take?

Judg. You are now indeed upon the point

point of greatest difficulty: for resolving whereof you must alwayes remember that general rule of the Apostle, not to do any thing against the dictate of your own conscience: for even an erroneous conscience binds, though it do not excuse, a *toto* but a *tanto* only. And when the Apostle saith, Let every man be fully perswaded in his own minde: and, Hast thou faith? have it to thy self before God. Happy is he, that condemneth not himself in that thing which he alloweth: and he that doubteth is damned if he eat: because he eateth not of faith: for whatsoever is not of faith is sin. *Rom.*4.5,22,23. By the judgement of all interpreters, I think it is agreed, that he doth not leave every man at liberty to do what he listeth, but directly requires, that every man be perswaded certainly of the lawfulness of every action, that he undertakes. Which perswasion of lawfulness (according to the scope of the Apostles speech) must be extended not onely to the nature and essence of the action, but likewise to those adherent circumstances, the variety whereof may alter

alter the case: as upon what ground, to what end, with what intent it is done, and what the success of the action either must, or may be. So that you must resolve not to do any thing of which you are not fully perswaded in your own conscience, that it is lawful for you to do it; nor to leave any thing undone, whereof you are not fully perswaded in your own conscience, that it is not necessary to be done by you; whether simply in it self, or *ex concesso, rebus sic stantibus.* Not that the perswasion of your own conscience is a sufficient warrant to justifie you, either before God or man, for your doing of that, which you are confident your self is lawful, or for the leaving undone that which you are satisfied in your self is not necessary. For that may be necessary to be done by you, which you are perswaded is not, and that may not be lawful to be done by you which you are perswaded is. But that your own conscience, being a power established by God in your soul, to judge between him and you, the voice there is a law unto you: which if you transgress, by doing

contrary

contrary thereunto, you are condemned of your self; and if you neglect it, by doing any thing without the direction thereof, you overrun your warrant, and act without authority.

Sect. XVI.

The right information of Conscience, concerning what is unlawful, or necessary, in it self, is to be sought for from the written word of God rightly understood and applyed.

Aff. IF then I must do nothing, but that whereof I am fully perswaded in my conscience, the main thing that I must look unto is, that my Conscience may be rightly informed, in every particular I undertake, in every thing I do, or leave undone, that so it must be, and not otherwise. But where shall I meet with that right information?

Judg. With God, if you go to him to seek it, as you ought to do, and wait upon

on him with patience, in the uſe of his means, which is his word rightly underſtood, & applyed by the direction of his holy ſpirit and according to the rules of right reaſon. It is *Solomons* advice, *Prov.* 3.5,6. *Truſt in the Lord with all thine heart: and lean not to thine own underſtanding. In all thy wayes acknowledge him, and he ſhall direct thy paths.* For, as *David* ſaith, *Pſal.* 25.8,9. *Good and upright is the Lord: therefore will he teach ſinners in the way. The meek will he guide in judgement.* Therefore *Pſal.* 119. 8, having asked the queſtion, *Wherewithal ſhall a young man cleanſe his way?* he preſently gives the anſwer himſelf, *by taking heed thereto according to thy word.* And *St. James, If any of you lack wiſdom, let him ask of God,* &c. *Jam.* 1.5, &c. And *St. Paul, All Scripture is given by inſpiration from God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for inſtruction in righteouſneſs: That the man of God may be perfect, thorowly furniſhed unto all good works.* 2 *Tim.* 3.16.17

SECT.

Sect. XVII.

Amongst divers opinions, concerning the true understanding of Scripture, their doubtful differences are to be tryed by their concord and agreement with undoubted truths commonly received and agreed upon as principles.

Aff. LEt this go for granted: yet two things there are, that I must as well be satisfied in, as in the sufficient perfection of Scripture, or else I shall be as far to seek as ever I was. The one is this, that divers men are of different opinions, concerning the true understanding of the Scriptures: and those not only ignorant and ungodly men, but even those that are learned and judicious, yea, religious, and such as make conscience of their wayes. And therefore when I come

come to examine any action by the touchstone of the Scripture, the soul whereof is the sense and meaning of the words, and finde it so differently rendered by divers, that both cannot possibly accord in one, what shall I doe? Let all alone untill they be agreed? Or how shall I satisfie my self, which of the two I must be guided by?

Judg. This I confess is a great inconvenience, & such as the consideration thereof may give men just occasion to break out, as St. *Austin* doth, into this passionate exclamation, *O ubi estis, fontes Lachrymarum? & quid faciemus? quò ibimus?* Or as the Prophet *Jeremiah*, *Jer. 9. 1. Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night* (I will not say only as he doth, *for the slain of the daughter of my people*, but) for the strifes of words, the prophane and vain bablings, the oppositions of science falsly so called, the fooliſh and unlearned questions, yea the doubtful disputations of those men, who many times more obscure, then illustrate, what they take in hand to clear. But you must not think

think it ſtrange, it alwayes hath been, is, and ever will be ſo: ſo long as men ſee, but as thorow a glaſs darkly, they cannot expect to know any thing perfectly, but onely in part. *1 Cor.* 13. 9, 12. And though ſome, in compariſon of others, may be men in underſtanding, 1 *Cor.* 14. 20. yet St. *Paul* would have the Corinthians, even in himſelf, and in *Apollo*, to learn not to think of men above that which is written: that none of you, ſaith he, *be puffed up for one againſt another*, 1 *Cor.* 4.6. When therefore you meet with ſuch differences, remember that direction of St. *John* 1 *John* 4. 1, &c. *Beloved, believe not every ſpirit, but try the ſpirits, whether they are of God*, &c. And the rule that he layes down to try them by, is their concordance and agreement with undoubted truths. All things in Scripture are not doubted of, or drawn into diſpute: ſome things are ſo plainly and clearly laid down, that all men, by whom the ſcripture is received as the word of God, agree upon them. Let thoſe then be your ſcantlings of the reſt, and what you finde moſt agreeable to that, which is confeſt

by

by all, that cleave unto. As falshood is alwayes inconsistent with truth, and contrary unto it, as light is to darkness; so good and evil can no more close, and be firmly united unto one another, then diamonds unto dust or dirt. This reducing of doubtful differences, in all matters both of opinion and practice, unto commonly received principles, generally agreed upon, and tying them to stand to the trial thereof, is that which *St. Paul* so often calls for: as *Rom.* 16.17. *Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions, and offences, contrary to the doctrine, which you have learned, and avoid them,* &c. 1 *Cor.* 3.11,&c. *For other foundation can no man lay, then that which is laid, Jesus Christ,* &c. *Gal.* 1. 9. *If any preach any other Gospel unto you, then that you have received, let him be accursed:* and in other places.

Aff. I shall better understand your meaning, and the truth of this, if you will be pleased to illustrate it a little, with an instance or two.

Judg. That I will: and first for matter of opinion. You know it is much dispu-

disputed, between the Divines of the reformed Churches and those of *Rome*, how those words of our Saviour, *Mat: 26.26. This is my body*, must be understood: whether in respect of natural existence, or of sacramental use. To try which of these is the true meaning of the words, bring them both to those undoubted principles, which no good Christian doth or dare deny: that the body of Christ was a true natural body, conceived by the holy Ghost, born of the Virgin *Mary*: and that in the same individual body he was crucified, died, was buried, rose again from the dead, ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God. That interpretation, which accords with these and all other principles, you may be sure is true, as the latter evidently doth; and that which is contrary to, and inconsistent with these, or any other certain principles, must needs be false: as the later apparently is. And the like may be said in other controverted points of doctrine.

Secondly, for matter of practice, It is disputed between the divines of the

reformed Churches, and thoſe of *Rome*, how that paſſage of St. *Paul*, *Rom.* 13. 1, &c. *Let every ſoul be ſubject to the higher powers* &c. muſt be underſtood: whether of the ſubjection of all perſons and cauſes, as well Eccleſiaſtical as civil, unto thoſe Magiſtrates, in whom the ſupreme authoritiy reſides, or of civil only. To try which of theſe is the true meaning of the place, bring them both to thoſe undoubted principles, which no good Chriſtian, no nor reaſonable man can deny, *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris*, and *ſuum cuique*, which we may ſee atteſted by our Saviour, *Mat.* 7, 12. *All things whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do to you, do you even ſo to them. Mat.* 22, 21. *Render unto Ceſar the things which are Ceſars*: and by St. *Paul Rom.* 13. 7, 8. *Render unto all their dues*, &c. That interpretation, which accords with theſe principles, as the former doth, you may be ſure is true: and that which is contrary to, and inconſiſtent with theſe principles, as the latter is, muſt needs be falſe: and the like may be ſaid in other caſes and queſtions.

Aſſ.

Aff. But what if I be not able to resolve of that accord or contradiction?

Judg. Such a case can hardly happen, if you seriously consider all particulars: and if it could, the equal evidence on either side, which should leave you without any certain ground of resolution, would manifest the question it self to be but vain and frivolous, and the indifferencie such, that it would be no matter at all, whether ever you resolved or no. But however, having used all the means you can for your best information when you resolve, let it be according as you shall be led by the most convincing evidence. What is the other particular, wherein you desire to be satisfied?

Sect. XVIII.

Special immediate revelations from God, to shew what is unlawful, or necessary to our selves in particular, although useful heretofore, are neither to be expected, nor easily to be believed now.

Aff. YOu said even now, that as I must esteem that unlawful in it self which by God is forbidden unto all men in general, so I must esteem that unlawful for me, which God hath forbidden to my self in particular, or though not unto all men in general, yet unto men of such particular places and callings, estates and conditions, as for the present I am in. For the former you have told me, that my resolution must be guided by the holy Scriptures, interpreted according to the rules of right reason, and the general received princi-

ples

ples of religion: but for the latter I am yet to seek. How shal I know, that that which is lawful in it self, as not being simply forbidden by God unto all men in general, is yet unlawful for my self in particular, or that that which is not absolutely necessary, as not being by God required of all men in general, is yet necessary for my self, as being particularly required of me?

Judg. Whilst special immediate revelations were in use, as in the dayes of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles, the spirit, by which those particular instructions and directions were given, was able also sufficiently to manifest his own authority, and as well to subdue and incline the will and affections, to assent unto and imbrace the truth of such discoveries, as to enlighten the minde and understanding to apprehend the meaning of them. This made even *Balaam* to say, *If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord my God, to do less or more. Num.* 22. 18. And the Prophet *Jeremiah*, *Jer.* 20. 9. *Then I said, I will*

not make mention of him: nor speak any more in his name. But his word was in mine heart, as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not stay. St *Luke* of St. *Paul* and *Timothy* saith, *That after they were come to Mysia, they assayed to go into Bithynia, but the spirit suffered them not. Acts* 16. 7. *That when Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia, Paul was prest in spirit, and testified unto the Jews, that Jesus was Christ, Acts* 18. 5. and St. *Paul* of himself, *that he went bound in the spirit to Jerusalem.* 20. 22. But this was extraordinary, proper unto those times, and must neither be expected now, nor easily believed either of our selves or others: although I doubt not, but that even now adayes there are some that are both deceived themselves with false perswasions, and deceive others with fair pretences, that in some particular cases they are immediately directed by the spirit of God, when indeed it is either the voice of their own corrupt hearts only, which they hearken to, or the subtile suggestions of Satan, who sometimes *transforms himself into an angel*

of

of light, and his ministers into the Apostles of Christ, and ministers of righteousness, 2 *Cor.* 11, 13, 14, 15. And we need not think it strange, since the holy Ghost hath so long ago expresly given warning of it. 1 *Tim.* 4. 1, &c.

Aff. Do you think there may be no special immediate revelations now adayes, whereby some men may be guided and directed themselves, and stirred up and enabled to guide and direct others in the performance of particular actions, as necessary, or effectually conducible to special ends?

Judg. I doubt not but there may, for the holy Ghost is not limited or straitned any more in respect of time, then place, but divideth severally to whom, and where, and when, and how he will, 1 *Cor.* 12. 11. But it is not ordinary now, nor easily to be believed (as I said before) either of our selves or others, for fear lest in stead of the spirit of truth and of Christ, we either be deceived our selves, or deceive others, by the spirit of error and of Antichrist.

Sect. XIX

Some directions to try the pretended revelations of private spirits by.

Aff. WHat directions can you give me then to try the pretended revelations and instructions of private spirits by?

Judg. Even the same that I mentioned before, *viz.* their accord and agreement with, or their inconsistent contrariety to, and contradiction of themselves, or of the written word. The good spirit, the spirit of truth, is alwayes constant to it self: the evil spirit, the spirit of errour is alwayes contrary either unto it self, or unto the spirit of truth. Bring them then unto the royal standard of the word, wherein the spirit of truth undoubtedly doth speak, and try them there. It is Gods own advice to his people Israel by his Prophet *Isaiah*, *Is.*8.19, 20.

20. And our Saviours to the Jewes. *John* 5. 39, &c.

Aff. This indeed may be a means to try such motions as proceed from private spirits by, in regard of the matter, whether it proceed from the spirit of truth, or the spirit of errour: but how shall I know in regard of the manner, whether it be by an ordinary, or by an extraordinary work of the spirit, that such motions in the minde are stirred up?

Judg. The onely means I know to this end is to consider these two things. First, the causes and occasions of such motions, as proceed from an extraordinary work of the spirit, have themselves something more then ordinary in them: as in *Gideons* incounter with the Midianites, *Judges* 7. *Jonathans* with the Philistines, 1 *Sam.* 14. *David* with *Goliah*, 1 *Sam.* 17. When the holy Ghost, in the book of *Judges*, had often said, that the spirit of the Lord came upon such or such a one, or that God raised him up to be a deliverer, and that he judged Israel, intending thereby an extraordinary, special, and immediate motion of the spirit of God

God, whereby he was both ſtirred up, and warranted, to undertake that imployment, he addeth in the end, *In thoſe dayes there was no King in Iſrael: every man did that which was right in his own eyes*: as intimating extraordinary motions of the ſpirit to take place onely in the abſence of ordinary means. And therefore when the government was once ſetled, we hear no more of that phraſe, to import an extraordinary motion of the ſpirit ſtirring any man up to undertake and exerciſe that charge. So ſince the ſacred volume of the Scriptures is complete, for them that acknowledge the ſufficiencie thereof, to be the light of faith, and rule of life, either to expect in themſelves, or pretend unto others, extraordinary revelations now, is in effect as much, as to light a candle at noon day, and fetch water in a bucket from a ſpring to pour into, not a river onely, but the Ocean it ſelf.

Secondly, the adjuncts and effects of ſuch motions, as proceed from an extraordinary work of the ſpirit, have themſelves ſomething more then ordinary in them:

them: as in the former examples, of *Gideon*, *Jonathan*, *David*, their extraordi- confidence before hand, and their ſucceſs beyond expectation afterward.

But both theſe marks may be indifferent common to all extraordinary motions of a private ſpirit, whether good or bad: and therefore that which I ſpake of before, is that which you muſt chiefly look unto, to try the ſpirits by the word of God. If by your own private ſpirit, whether ſpeaking in an ordinary or extraordinary manner, you be moved and guided to any thing that accordeth and agreeth with the written word, that hearken to, as the voice of the good ſpirit of God, and of truth: but if unto any thing contrary unto, and inconſiſtent with that word, that ſtop your ears againſt, as the voice of the evil ſpirit, of Satan, and of errour.

SECT.

SECT. XX.

What to do in ſuch things, as are neither neceſſary, nor unlawful in themſelves, nor unto us in particular, but indefinitely only unto men of ſuch particular places and callings, eſtates and conditions, as for the preſent we are in.

Aff. BUt what ſhall I do in the laſt place by thoſe particulars which are not by God forbidden in general unto all men, nor unto my ſelf in particular, but indefinitely, unto men of ſuch particular places and callings, eſtates and conditions, as for the preſent I am in?

Judg. All that you have to do in this caſe is, Firſt to conſider what particular place and calling, eſtate and condition, for the preſent you are in; as whether a ſuperiour in authority over,

or

or an inferiour in subjection unto others; whether poor or rich, in prosperity or in adversity, and the like. Secondly, to consider what general rules the holy Ghost in Scripture hath laid down, for the ordering and governing of all men, in such a particular place and calling, estate and condition, as yours is. The result of these two must be your resolution, as that which is the conclusion of a practical syllogism: whereof the proposition, or major, is given you by God in his word: the assumption, or minor, you finde by experience in your self: and can no more deny the conclusion, then you can renounce your reasonable soul, and yield your self to be a beast.

Aff. I pray you, Sr. give me an example of this, as you have done of the other particulars.

Judg. Take that of *Joab* then, though otherwise not so good a man as he should have been, yet in this an eminent pattern of loyalty. *Joab* was a subject and servant unto *David*, intrusted by him with the managing of the war against the children of *Ammon*, 2 Sam. 11, 1, &c.

The

The general rule for those that are in that estate and condition, wherein *Joab* then was, is not to seek their own honour to the disadvantage of the honour of them, by whom they are imployed, whose subjects and servants they are. For a son honoureth his father, and a servant his master. *Mal.* 1. 6. In consideration hereof, when *Joab* might have perfected the victory himself in *David's* absence, yet he will not, but sends for *David* to come and be present himself in his own person: and gives the reason, *least I take the city, and it be called after my name.* 2 *Sam.* 12. 27, 28. So 2 *Sam.* 24. when *David* bade *Joab* number the people: though the Kings word were abominable to *Joab*, as the phrase is, 1 *Chron.* 21. 6. that is, though *Joab* were altogether of another minde, and would have diswaded *David* from it, as a needless, or unfitting thing: yet, being an action not unlawful in it self, *Joab* is content to yield, and the Kings word prevailed against *Joab* and the captains of the host, and they did as they were commanded by the King. The neglect of which respect

spect at other times, in that he treacherously slew *Abner* and *Amasa*, and trayterously attempted to advance *Adonijah* to the throne of the kingdom in *David's* life time, without his knowledge and consent, cost him his life: nor could the horns of the altar protect him, though he thought to take sanctuary in the Tabernacle of the Lord, 1 *Kings* 2. 28,&c.

Sect. XXI.

Things in themselves indifferent may become either necessary, or unlawful, to inferiours, being commanded, or forbidden them by their superiours.

Aff. IT seems then you think, that things in themselves indifferent, as those which are neither commanded nor forbidden by God, unto all men in general, may become either necessary, or unlawful, unto those that are inferiours, being com-

commanded, or forbidden them by their superiours.

Judg. It is true, I do so: and so must you too, and every one else, that will not be an utter enemy to all humane authority & professed friend of confusion. For order is the life and soul of action, and subordination the essence of order: which can never be maintained, without authority established in those to whom of right it doth belong, both to make laws, that must be obeyed, and to exact obedience to the laws that are made.

Aff. But if by those laws there be any thing forbidden, which God hath commanded, or any thing commanded which God hath forbidden, what must they do then?

Judg. Obey God, rather then men: for his authority is absolute and supreme originally of, and finally, for himself; theirs but subordinate and limited, of him, from him, by him, through him, to him, and for him.

Aff. But you said before, that lawfulness must be extended, not onely to the nature

nature and essence of the action, but likewise to those adherent circumstances, the variety whereof in things in themselves indifferent, may alter the case; as upon what ground, to what end, with what intent, and the like: and actions considered, not simply in themselves, but together with such adherent circumstances, are no longer indifferent to their agents, but either necessary, or unlawful; and so humane authority may seem not to extend to them; for that which is necessary may not be forbidden, and that which is unlawful may not be commanded.

Judg. It is true that you say: and if the constitutions of supreme Authority had not a special place in the determination of those adherent circumstances, there would be no use of humane laws. But when the general rules of equity, laid down in Scripture, are limited in respect of particular circumstances by humane laws, all that live under that supreme authority, by which those laws are made, are bound in conscience to submit themselves unto them: and the

neceſſity, or unlawfulneſs of actions conſidered with their adherent circumſtances, depends upon no one thing ſo much as the voice of that authority, whereby they are determined.

Aff. Is not this to make men the ſervants of men, contrary to the precept of St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 7. 23. and to intangle them again with the yoak of that bondage, from which Chriſt hath made them free?

Judg. No: for the liberty wherewith Chriſt hath made men free, is not civil, but ſpiritual; and ſpiritual liberty is neither contrary to, nor inconſtent with civil ſubjection; as the Apoſtle plainly ſhewes in the next foregoing verſe, and *Gal.* 5.13. when he ſaith, *Brethren ye have been called unto liberty, onely uſe not liberty as an occaſion to the fleſh, but by love ſerve one another:* and St. *Peter* having ſaid, *Submit your ſelves unto every ordinance of man for the Lords ſake*, &c. adds, *As free, and not uſing you liberty as a cloak of malicioufneſs, but as the ſervants of God*, 1 *Pet.* 2. 13, &c.

Aff. But you ſay that men are bound in

in conscience to submit themselves unto those laws which are made by that supreme authority, under which they live: and is it not spiritual bondage to be bound in conscience?

Judg. If you speak of such spiritual bondage as is evil, and from which the liberty purchased by Christ hath set men free, all bond of conscience is not spiritual bondage: for to be bound in conscience to serve God in obedience, according unto his revealed will, in holiness and righteousness, is not contrary, but subordinate unto spiritual liberty, the very end for which we are delivered out of the hands of our enemies, as *Zachary* speaks, *Luke* 1,74,75. But carnal liberty, to obey unrighteousness, is spiritual bondage indeed, yea sinful slavery. If Superiours command such things, as are unlawful, or forbid such things as are necessary, their inferiours are not bound in conscience to obey them: for such obedience is contrary to, and inconsistent with their spiritual liberty. But when the things commanded by supreme authority are not unlawful, nor the things

thereby forbidden necessary, those that live under that authority are bound in conscience to yield obedience: and the bond is put upon the conscience, not by those men, in whom the supreme humane authority resides, but by God himself, from whom they receive, and under whom, for him and in his stead, they manage that authority; and by whom their subjects are commanded to submit themselves, and obey them that have the rule over them: and so those things, which before the determination of authority were in themselves indifferent, afterward become, either necessary or unlawful unto them, who owe obedience unto that authority for the Lords sake.

SECT

SECT. XXII.

Of passive obedience in suffering wrong patiently. Whether subjects, to defend themselves, and maintain their own right, may by open violence, and force of arms, resist their supreme Magistrates?

Aff. ALL this may be true of active obedience, in doing good willingly: but what will you say of passive obedience, in suffering wrong patiently? Are all inferiours bound in conscience to submit themselves unto their superiours, in suffering patiently what they inflict upon them wrongfully? May they not stand upon their own defence, and for the maintenance of their own right, even by open force of arms, resist them?

Judg. Many men I know are of divers

minds in this particular: but if you seriously consider what arguments are urged upon either side; I think you will finde more principles of humane policy, and worldly wisdom, then rules of religion, and Christian piety, pleading for the lawful liberty of resistence, and more evidence of grace, then nature, appearing in behalf of patient suffering. Besides that of them who are most earnest to maintain the former, some are constrained to fly to such principles, as for ought I can perceive, are either false in themselves, or in the application of them tend to the utter overthrow of all good government, and take away the very foundation of all humane authority: others are forced to limit and restrain it with so many cautions, that it is difficult, if not impossible to instance any particular example, wherein they have been all observed. So that it may seem a great deal safer for subjects to suffer according to the will of God, and commit the keeping of their souls to him, in well doing, as to a faithful Creatour, as St. *Peter* speaks, 1 *Pet.* 4. 19. then to hazard

zard the miscarriage of his good cause, by their own ill handling of it.

Aff. I see, Sr. you are not willing to express you opinion in this particular so fully, as you have done in the rest: and therefore, although I heartily desire satisfaction in a case of such importance, yet will I not press you further for it.

Judg. You need not, if you remember what I said before, in my second example of doubtful differences reduced unto commonly received principles, generally agreed upon. For if the case be such, that subjects may, by resisting with force, defend their own right, against their Soveraigns, in whom the supreme authority resides, so, that withall they shall not be in danger to offer the like wrong unto them, or to others in them, from which they desire to defend themselves; nor to withhold any thing from them, which is due unto them, it may be lawful; otherwise not: because then they should do contrary to those general rules, *Suum, cuique*, and *Quod tibi non vis fieri, alteri ne feceris*; which no man can deny: and such self-contradiction

makes a man inexcusable, as *St. Paul* tells us, *Rom.* 2. 1, &c. But the true reason why I forbear to inlarge my self in this as far as in other particulars, is, because the question cannot well be resolved in these, unless there were some particular case propounded in Hypothesi, with all the several circumstances of it, that the answer might be drawn accordingly. And such a case, wherein it might be lawful for subjects to resist their Soveraigns, in whom the supreme humane authority resides (any otherwise, then onely by denying, withholding, and withdrawing active obedience unto their unlawful commands) I am as loath my self to imagine, as it may be you are unable to give instance of. Yet to say some thing towards your satisfaction in this particular, I will first state the question, as I understand it, and then shew you some of the cautions, with which I finde resistence for defence restrained and limited, by them that take upon them to maintain it lawful: which cautions if they be not duly observed, the supposed lawful liberty must by their own confession cease.

SECT.

Sect. XXIII.

The question stated.

First, you must consider, that the question is not of resisting wrong done by private persons, without the consent or warrant of supreme Authority: for in such a case, the rule they give holds good, *Contra quos licita est defensio per magistratum, contra eosdem est licita defensio privata in casu necessitatis, cum ea quæ fit per magistratum haberi non potest: quoniam tunc reges armant etiam privatos.* And in such a case indeed, the resistence is not against, but in the behalf of the supreme Magistrate.

Secondly, you must consider, that the question is not of resisting the supreme Magistrate by meer private men, without the consent or warrant of the ordinary power, as they call it: for this they confess were *gladium sumere a Deo & a legibus sibi non concessum.*

Thirdly, you must consider, that the question

queſtion is not of reſiſting thoſe that onely pretend, and have no juſt title to ſupreme authority: for this will eaſily be granted to be lawful; ſo that it be not done with an intent to detain that ſupreme authority from them, to whom it doth belong, or to transfer it unto others.

Fourthly, you muſt conſider, that the queſtion is not of reſiſting by refuſing, or endeavouring onely that we may not be active our ſelves in doing that which ſupreme Magiſtrates themſelves, or others by authority from them, would force us to do, and which without ſin we cannot do, or by endeavouring to reſtrain them from doing it themſelves; ſo long as that endeavour tends not, either unto the danger of their perſons, or the diminution of their authority and power otherwiſe, or take, or withhold from them any thing that of right belongs unto them: for in this caſe neither the Magiſtrate nor his authority is hurt, or hindered, but helped, and furthered. As when the King of Iſrael ſent a meſſenger to take away *Eliſhaes* head, *Eliſha* bade

bade the Elders, that sate in his house with him, shut the door, and hold him fast at the door. 2 *Kings* 6,32.

But the question is, Whether in any case subjects of themselves, by joynt consent, or by the direction of inferiour magistrates, may lawfully resist, and by force of arms defend themselves, and one another against supreme Magistrates, acknowledged such, and those that are imployed by authority from them, yea though it be to the danger of their persons, the diminution of their authority, and the depriving them of any thing, that otherwise of right they might lay claim unto. In answering this question, they that maintain the affirmative yet limit it with these cautions.

SECT.

SECT. XXIV.

Cautions, with which the affirmative is limited by them that maintain it.

FIrſt, that the ſupreme Magiſtrate be actually degenerated into a tyrant, and publickly declared ſo to be: ſuch a one as doth open and intolerable injury unto his ſubjects generally; or ſeeks by violence and force to conſtrain them unto manifeſt idolatry or blaſphemy.

Secondly, that the injuſtice and violence, which they pretend to defend themſelves againſt, be manifeſtly ſuch, and great and grievous, not barely ſuſpected or ſurmiſed only, or trivolous and light.

Thirdly, that it be onely in caſe of extreme neceſſity, when the whole Common-wealth is in imminent danger to be utterly overthrown, and no other means of ſafety left, for the preſervation of

of themselves, their lives, their estates, and the liberty of their consciences.

Fourthly, that all other good means have formerly been used for his reformation, but in vain.

Fiftly, that under the pretence of religion and justice, private ends and advantages, be not aimed at, intended and sought.

Sixtly, that in all their proceedings they carefully observe such equity and moderation, that they themselves infringe not those liberties, and transgress not those laws, which they take upon them to maintain: for here that rule they give themselves must hold. *Quod justum est juste persequaris.*

Seventhly, that it be not onely intended for, but likewise accompanied with a greater publick benefit, *Ne Resp. volens vitare Charybdim incidat in Scyllam.*

When you propose a particular case of this kinde, wherein these cautions are observed, that I may take notice of all the considerable circumstances appertaining thereunto, I will tell you what I think of the lawfulness, or unlawfulness of it.

SECT.

SECT. XXV.

Exceptions to some principles, upon which they endeavour to ground their opinion, who maintain the affirmative.

Aff. YOu said even now, that some of those, who take upon them to maintain the lawfulnes of resistence in this kinde, are constrained to fly to such principles, as you conceive are either false in themselves, or in the application of them tend to the utter overthrow of all good government, and to take away the very foundation of all humane authority. I pray you let me heat some instances of such principles.

Judg. One is, that the supreme Magistrate, in respect of those that are under his authority, is *major singulis*, but *minor universis*. This I take to be false: for the supreme Magistrate, as such, is *Soli Deo minor*, and unto all his subjects, not *directim* onely, but *conjunctim* also, is in stead of

of God, who is greater then all.

Another is, that the power of government is originally in the people, & only derived from, & intruſted by them, unto the ſupreme magiſtrate. This I am perſwaded is falſe: for the power of government is originally in God, derived from, & intruſted by him, to the ſupreme magiſtrate, even then when the perſon, in whom that authority reſides, is deſigned by the people, as in elective governments, much more where the government is ſucceſſive, and hereditary. The holy Ghoſt in Scripture ſtyleth Magiſtrates the miniſters of God, and the ſervants of the Lord: but never that I know the miniſters of the people, or the ſervants of their ſubjects.

Another is, that ſubjects have an intereſt in the ſupreme Magiſtrate, which is of a far more excellent and high nature, then that intereſt, which the ſupreme Magiſtrate hath in his ſubjects. But this I am confident is falſe: for the intereſt, which the ſupreme Magiſtrate, as ſuch, hath in his ſubjects, is Gods intereſt, although not abſolute, as his is; yet ſuch as,

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however limited, he hath for God, and unto him must be answerable for his management thereof.

Another is, that *Salus populi est suprema lex*, which is a truth indeed, if rightly understood: But being so applyed, as that the people themselves, or any deputed by them, shall be esteemed competent judges of what is necessary for their own safety, without the concurrence and consent of the supreme Magistrate, tends utterly, as I conceive, to take away all authority from him, yea to loose the bands of all humane society. For if subjects shall stand no longer bound in conscience to obey their soveraigns, then they themselves shall esteem it expedient, and that it is not necessary to do otherwise, the apprehension of the like necessity may as well warrant children to withdraw their obedience from their parents, servants from their masters, yea equals their friendship and fidelity from one another. Yea, though the necessity be not really apprehended indeed, but only pretended, and this supreme law pleaded for it, and that subjects, either

ther severally or joyntly, may themselves, or by any deputed by them, be Judges of that law, against, or without the approbation and allowance of supreme Authority, *actum est de imperio*, the Magistrate must hold his estate but of courtesie, at the will and pleasure of the people: for when ever they have a minde to disobey, and finde themselves in case to make their party good, it is no more but to pretend an extraordinary case of necessity, and then they have their commission to shew, from *Salus populi est suprema lex.*

Aff. What say you then to the cases of non-age, natural disability, or captivity of the supreme Magistrate, by which there is a necessity, that his Authority, for the time, should be managed by others?

Judg. To this I could say, first, that God himself then declares the necessity, and not the people.

Secondly, that the necessity, in such cases, respects not the people immediately, but the supreme Magistrate himself.

Thirdly, That the Authority of the

ſupreme Magiſtrate, in ſuch caſes, is not managed againſt him, but for him.

But I would rather ſay, that in ſuch caſes the known laws of each particular ſtate, rather then general rules of reaſon and analogy, are to be reſorted to, and conſulted with. For in many caſes, the general rules of reaſon and analogy may indifferently be urged on either ſide: and ſupreme Magiſtrates, as well as their ſubjects, will plead extraordinary caſes, and the neceſſity of their own ſafety, both for their own and for their ſubjects ſakes.

Another is, that ſubjects are not at all obliged to their ſupreme Magiſtrates, but under condition, *viz.* ſo far forth only, as they govern aright; and that *ceſſante conditione ceſſat obligatio.* But this, if generally underſtood of all, as well paſſive as active obedience, I preſume is falſe: and if it be ſo meant, that ſubjects themſelves ſhall have authority, without the conſent of ſupreme Magiſtrates, to determine the rectitude, or irregularity of their government, and accordingly to yeild, or withdraw their obe-

obedience, why may not the same be said of all inferiours to their superiours, children to parents, servants to masters? *Ego te meum dici tantisper volo, dum quod te dignum est facis.* And what then shall become of all humane authority?

Aff. And what shall become of all the propriety, and liberty of subjects, if they may not lawfully defend themselves, and by force of arms resist the unjust violence of their governours, and remove them, or constrain them to reform their courses? Yea, what shall become even of the law of nature, which teacheth not onely reasonable men, but even brute beasts, to defend themselves, and the things they enjoy, against rapine and spoil? Much less may we think, that God would have whole nations left destitute of means, or lawful liberty by those means, to defend themselves from the violence of particular men abusing their authority, and making their own wills and pleasures only the rules of their Government. What is this else, but to let loose the reines to a licentious, unbounded sway of arbitrary govrenment,

and to teach ſupreme Magiſtrates, that they may do what they liſt?

Judg. I ſee you would fain draw me to declare my ſelf, and to tell you what I think of the lawfulneſs, or unlawfulneſs of ſubjects reſiſting, and by force of arms defending themſelves againſt ſupreme Magiſtrates, and thoſe that are put in Authority by them. But in vain: for I told you before, that I will not, and indeed cannot well tell what to reſolve of the queſtion in general, unleſs ſome ſuch particular caſe were propounded, as whereof all the ſeveral circumſtances might be ſeriouſly conſidered, and compared together. Yet for your argument, how ever the queſtion in general may ſpeed, I preſume it is ſuch, as will not ſtand under that weight you ſeek to lay upon it. For firſt, it may eaſily be retorted thus, What ſhall become of all the pre-eminence, propriety of prerogative, Majeſty and Soveraignty, of ſupreme Magiſtrates, if ſubjects have Authority to declare their Sovereigns actions tyrannical unjuſt, and violent, and then have lawful liberty to right, or rather to revenge them-

themselves, and by force of arms depose their Sovereigns, or constrain them to govern so as pleaseth them? Yea what shall become of the law of nature, which teacheth not onely reasonable men, but even brute beasts, not to break order by resisting, where they are to be subject, not to permit themselves to be contemned, where they ought to be obeyed? Much less may we think, that God would have supreme Magistrates, who bear the image of his Majesty, and govern for him, left to the discretion of their people, and destitute of means or lawful liberty by those means, to compel them unto, and keep them in order, and to punish them for their disobedience, when they perceive them minded to make their own wills and pleasures onely the rules of their subjection. What is this else, but to let loose the reins to a licencious, unbounded sway of arbitrary disobedience, and to teach subjects, that they may do what they list?

Secondly, the bounds and limits, both of the rule and government of supreme

Magistrates, and of the subjection and obedience of the people, that are under them, are set and determined by laws, First, by the law of God; I mean as it is revealed in his written word. Secondly, by the law of nature, I mean as it is imprinted in the minds of men, and there discovered by the light of reason. Thirdly by the law of nations: I mean those common rules and principles of commerce and society, which are generally agreed upon by all men. Fourthly, by the proper and peculiar laws of every particular state, whether fundamental, or additional, agreed upon, or made by the supreme Magistrate, either by the advice, or with the consent of the people. By all these laws the proprieties, both of supreme Magistrates, and of their subjects, the preeminence, prerogative, majesty, soveraignty, and Authority of the one, the liberty, rights, and priviledges of the other, are both defined, and defended: and unto them the defence of these, and their propriety in these, doth of right belong unto whom the defence of those laws doth belong:

belong: and that is unto them that bear the ſword, as having it put into their hands by God, and thoſe that are warranted by them that bear it, ſupreme Magiſtrates I mean, and thoſe whoſe Authority is derived from them. Of whom if it were granted, that their ſubjects might not lawfully by force of arms reſiſt them, yet would it not follow, that therefore they might do what they liſt, and had the reins of an arbitrary government left in their hands: for they woud be no leſs bound by all the ſeveral ſorts of laws before named, then if their people had lawful liberty in their own hands, to puniſh them for tranſgreſſing thoſe laws. Which liberty when they aſſume unto themſelves, and plead for as lawful, they ſeem at leaſt to lay aſide the condition of inferiours, and to change places with their ſuperiours. For ſubjects, as ſubjects, can no more exerciſe the ſword of juſtice, by any authority of their own, not derived from their Sovereigns, then ſupreme Magiſtrates, as ſuch, can be accountable unto any, but to God himſelf, for the ma-

naging of that authority, which as his immediate Vicegerents and substitutes they have from him. And this is a stronger tie upon supreme Magistrates, to keep them within their bounds, then any in the world besides can be. For the force of arms, that their subjects can prepare against them, they may peradventure provide for the defeating of: but to fall into the hands of the living God is a fearful thing, against which there is, there can be no defence. The less then that subjects are allowed to right themselves against their Sovereigns, the more God himself is interested on their behalf, to revenge their wrongs, and his own, upon them that abuse his Authority. This made *David*, that he would not use the power which he had in his own hand, to right and revenge himself upon *Saul*, but left it to God, as belonging to him. *The Lord judge between me and thee, and the Lord avenge me of thee; but mine hand shall not be upon thee*, 1 Sam. 24.12. Nor would he suffer *Abishai*, that was willing, and desirous to do it: *for who*, saith he, *can stretch forth*

forth his hand against the Lords anointed, and be guiltless? As the Lord liveth, the Lord shall smite him, or his day shall come to dye, or he shall descend into battel, and perish. 1 *Sam.* 26,9,10.

Some, I know, answer, that *David* might lawfully have slain *Saul*, and that his forbearing to do it was for example sake, lest others in imitation of him should have been encouraged to kill Kings: and that it was *singulare & heroicum exemplum, quod hosti pepercit, vitandi scandali causa.* But this answer seems to me to contradict, both it self, and the text. To contradict it self: for that which is done for example sake, and to avoid scandal, is necessary to be done, and to do otherwise is unlawful: and therefore according unto this answer, if for nothing else, yet for example sake, and to avoid scandal, *David* might not lawfully have slain *Saul*. To contradict the text: for *David* saith, *who?* that is, *none can stretch forth his hand against the Lords anointed and be guiltless*. *David* could not have lawfully done that, which at least in his own opinion, no man could do

and

and be guiltleſs. But I pray you let us leave this queſtion: which hath been ſo often, and ſo much diſputed by Proteſtant Divines, againſt Anabaptiſts and Papiſts, yea by the moderater Papiſts themſelves, againſt thoſe of their own profeſſion, that call themſelves Jeſuits, and are indeed the moſt notorious incendiaries of the Chriſtian world, that it is hard to ſay any thing now to the purpoſe, which hath not been already ſaid.

SECT. XXVI.

The queſtion, whether ſubjects may reſiſt their Sovereigns, belongs not peculiarly to Kings, or Monarchs alone, but is common unto them, with all ſupreme Magiſtrates, in what form of Government ſoever it be.

Aff. YEt one thing I pray you, Sr, ſatisfie me in however. In that which

which you have said, concerning the cautions in this case propounded by some, and principles pleaded by others, I observe that you have not only of purpose forborn to answer directly to the question, but likewise to use the word Monarch, or King; instead thereof saying the supreme Magistrate, or Sovereign: which, if it were done purposely, I should be glad to understand the reason of.

Judge. I confess I did it purposely: not to avoid that *odium* and prejudice which many men are too apt to entertain against all those, whom they think to cast scorn upon, when they call them Monarchists, or Royalists: for I have long ago learned to esteem all unjust aspersions, and uncharitable censures, worthy onely of neglect. But the reason why I did it was, that you might take occasion thereupon to observe, that whatsoever is said in this question, concerning the lawfulness, or unlawfulness of subjects resisting, or defending themselves by force of arms, belongs not peculiarly to Kings, or Monarchs alone, but is common

mon unto them, with all ſupreme Magiſtrates in what form of Govrnment ſoever it be. And therefore if to maintain the affirmative be to oppoſe Monarchical government, it muſt be as well prejudicial unto any other form: and if it be neceſſary for the preſervation of any ſtate whatſoever, to maintain the negative, it will be as neceſſary that it ſhould be maintained for the preſervation of the ſtate of *Kings*. For the diſtinction of the duties of Governours, and thoſe that are to be governed by them, equally concerns all ſtates under heaven; and the confuſion of them hath the like influence upon a Republick, as it hath upon a Monarchy: except there be this difference, that as Monarchy is a more perfect form of Government, then any other, ſo a little blemiſh may ſooner be ſeen, and will appear more odious, and dangerous in it, then in any other form, and therefore is to be the more carefully avoided.

SECT.

Sect. XXVII.

Means warranted by God, as effectually conducible to any end, must not be refused, or neglected, under any pretence to the contrary whatsoever.

Aff. LEt this then, if you please, suffice for your first caution, that before I resolve upon the use of any means, as effectually conducible to any end, I must try and examine the lawfulness of it, both in it self, and unto me. I pray you now go on unto the rest.

Judg. The second shall be this. Whatever means is commanded by God, and warranted by his word, as effectually conducible to any end, you must not neglect or be diſswaded and discouraged from the use of it, how improbable soever, yea or impossible it may seem to be, in the eye of humane sense & reason, that it will be effectually conducible

ducible, and available, unto the end it ſhould be uſed for. Thus that the walls of *Jericho* may fall down, *Joſhua* and the Iſraelites, by Gods direction, muſt compaſs the city, and go round about it with the Ark, once a day ſix dayes together, and ſeven times the ſeventh day, ſeven Prieſts muſt blow before the Ark, with ſeven trumpets of rams horns, and when they make a long blaſt, then all the people muſt ſhout with a great ſhout, *Joſ.* 6. 2, &c. and doing ſo the walls of *Jericho* fell flat before them. Thus the means to be delivered from the danger they were in by the *Caldeans*, which God by the Prophet *Jeremiah* directed *Zedekiah* and the men of *Jeruſalem*, was to go out of the city and fall to the Caldeans, *Jer.* 21. 9. *Jer.* 38. 17, 20. which becauſe they neglected to hearken unto, the thing that they feared fell upon them, *Jer.* 39. 1. Although, as the ſame Prophet ſpeaketh, *Lam.* 12. *The Kings of the earth, and all the inhabitants of the world would not have believed, that the adverſary and the enemy ſhould have entred into the gates of Jeruſalem.*

Aff.

Aff. True, Sr. but these directions were given by special immediate revelation from God himself: which as you said before, is not to expected now adayes, nor easily believed, either in ourselves, or others. And therefore this caution, at least these examples, may seem to be but of little use now.

Judg. If you think so, you are deceived: for these examples serve sufficiently to prove the necessity, and excellent use of this caution: which is general, and respects not those directions alone, which are given by special and immediate revelation from God, but likewise those, which are guided by general rules recorded in his written word: the truth whereof is no less certain, being rightly applyed unto particular cases now adayes, then if God himself from heaven should utter them, as is evident by that comparison, which St. *Peter* makes between the word of peophecie concerning Christ recorded in Scripture, and the voice from heaven, which they heard when they were with him in the holy mount, 2 *Pet.* 1, 18, 19. and by that which

which our *Saviour* in the parable saith to the same purpose, *Luke* 16. 31. and more plainly to the Jews, concerning the writings of *Moses* and his own words, *John.* 5. 47. And according unto this rule, when *Solomon* saith, *If the spirit of the ruler rise up against thee: leave not thy place: for yielding pacifieth great offences. Eccl.* 10.4. how contrary soever that direction may seem to the wayes of humane wisdom, yet it is better to obey God, by humble submission to, then men, how wise soever they may seem to be, by obstinate opposition of supreme authority; according to the counsel of *Solomon. Eccl.* 8. 2,&c. So the particular practice of passive obedience, in suffering wrong patiently, is more agreeable unto the will of God, and a better means to advance his glory, and credit the Gospel of Christ, by putting to silence the ignorance of foolish men, and winning them that obey not the word, then to resist, and defend our selves by force against the consent, and without the warrant of those, in whom the supreme authority on earth resides:

and

and is ſo warranted to be, by thoſe general rules, that are given to this purpoſe, by St. *Peter* in his firſt Epiſtle, from the eleventh verſe of the ſecond to the end of the fourth Chapter: and by St. *Paul. 1. Tim. 6. 1*, &c. and in ſundry other places: though worldly-wiſe men, conſulting with fleſh and blood, will be redy to reply, as many of our Saviours own diſciples did, upon another occaſion, *Joh. 6. 60. This is a hard ſaying, who can hear it?* though they ſhould break out into open blaſphemy, and ſay as it is reported ſome have done, that paſſive obedience is aſſive obedience. Of whom I doubt not but I may truely ſay, as St. *Peter* doth, *2 Pet. 2. 1, 3. They bring upon themſelves ſwift deſtruction, and their damnation ſlumbereth not.*

SECT. XXVIII.

Means probably destructive of the supreme must not be used, though possibly they might be available for subordinate ends.

Aff. LEt this suffice likewise for your second caution, that the means which are warranted by Gods direction, as effectually conducible to any end, must not be refused, or neglected, under any pretence whatsoever to the contrary. What shall the third be?

Judg. The third shall be this. What ever means is effectually conducible unto any particular subordinate end, how good soever, if withal it be destructive of, or inconsistent with the supreme and general end, you must resolve to let it alone, and not to meddle with it. Thus they of *Cesarea*, and they that were of *Pauls* company, though they earnestly desired, that he would not

not go up to *Jeruſalem*, ſuppoſing that his tarrying from thence might be a means to preſerve his life and liberty, yet when they ſaw that he would not be perſwaded, as not willing to be prevented, or deprived of that opportunity, which there he might have, to do God better ſervice, in teſtifying the Goſpel of the grace of God; they *ceaſed, ſaying, The will of the Lord be done.* Acts 21. 14. On the contrary, when our Saviour began to ſhew to his diſciples that he muſt go to *Jeruſalem*, and there ſuffer and be killed, *Peter* in kindneſs would counſel him better, as he thought, ſaying, *Be it far from thee, Lord, this ſhall not be unto thee:* but he receives this ſharp reply, *Get thee behinde me, Satan, thou art an offence unto me: for thou ſavoreſt not the things that be of God, but thoſe that be of men.* Mat. 16. 21, 22, 23. And afterward, when he would needs be as buſy with his ſword to defend, as before he had been with his tongue to diſſwade his maſter from danger, he meets with the like reproof again, not without a ſevere commination of revenge for his raſhneſs, *Put up*

again thy ſword into his place: for all they that take the ſword ſhal periſh with the ſword, Mat. 26. 52. *St. John*, the diſciple whom Jeſus loved, who leaned on his breaſt at ſupper, hath it, *Put up thy ſword into the ſheath, John* 18. As if he knew, that a ſubjects ſword out of the ſheath was not in its place, unleſs by Sovereign Authority it had been called forth. And our Saviour, as if he himſelf had been bound in conſcience to make reſtitution for the wrong that his ſervant had done againſt his will, heals the ſervants ear that *Peter* had cut off: and that not without a kinde of leave asking, *Suffer ye thus far, Luke* 22. 51. And yet I preſume no Chriſtian dares deny, but that in the exerciſe of that authority, which *Peter* then did offer to reſiſt, there was male-adminiſtration in the higheſt degree. If ever power were abuſed, it was when Chriſt himſelf was apprehended by it, yet in Chriſts own quarrel, againſt the officers of *Annas* and *Caiphas*, Chriſt himſelf ſaith to *Peter*, *Put up thy ſword into his place, into the ſheath.* Not that our Saviour wanted power to make his party

party good: for he adds in the next verse, *Thinkest thou, that I cannot now pray to my father, and he shall presently give me twelve Legions of angels?* but, as it follows, *verse.* 54. How then shall the Scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be? The preservation of Christs liberty and life, was in it self a good end, and a good particular subordinate end, so long as it served for the advancement of the glory of God, the general supreme end, that is so long as his hour was not yet come, and so long he himself provided for it: but when the Scripture was to be fulfilled, which had said, he should be numbered amongst the transgressours, and make his soul an offering for sin, *Isa.* 53. 10, &c. when God was to be more glorified by his death, then he would be by his life; then neither others, nor himself, must any longer interpose for his preservation, and deliverance. No, not though he were provoked unto it, not onely by one of the malefactors, that was hanged, and by the souldiers, that crucified him, but likewise by the rulers, and the

people generally; and that with the strongest inducements that invention racked on the rules of art could reach unto. He saved others, let him save himself, If he be the Christ the son of God. Let Christ the King of Israel descend now from the cross, that we may see and believe. This one, How? then shall the Scripture be fulfilled, that thus it must be? is an argument beyond them all, which Christ himself cannot answer any other way, but by obedient suffering. And that he did it, not for our sakes onely, but for our example also, St. *Peter* tells us plainly 1 *Pet.* 2. 21.

SECT.

Sect. XXIX.

What means in their use are inconsistent with, or contrary to the advancement of the glory of God.

Aff. But how shall I know what means are inconsistent with, or contrary to the general supreme end of all things, the advancement of the glory of God?

Judg. By that, which I told you before, in the first caution: if they be such, as the use thereof is, either unlawful in it self, or unto you. For herein, saith our Saviour, *is my father glorified, that ye bear much fruit: so shall ye be my disciples, John.* 15.8. and the fruit that God expects from men, to the end that he be glorified by them, is obedience. 1 *Sam.* 15.22, 23. Our Saviour of himself saith, *I have glorified thee on the earth: I have finished the work, which thou gavest me to do, John* 17.4. and to his disciples, *Let your light so shine*

before men, that they may see your good works, and glorifie your Father, which is in heaven. Mat. 5. 16. So to the end that Christians may shine as lights in the world, *St. Pauls* direction to the Philippians is, *Do all things without murmurings and disputings: that ye may be blameless and harmless, the sons of God, without rebuke, in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation, Phil.* 2. 14, 15. When any thing is done agreeably unto the word of God, *which he hath magnified above all his name, Psal.* 138. 2. then his glory is advanced, But when any thing is done contrary thereunto, he is dishonoured. *Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven: but he that doth the will of my my father, which is in heaven. Mat.* 7. 21. *This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips: but their heart is far from me. But in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men, Mat.* 15. 8, 9. That is done to Gods dishonour, what ever it be, and under what pretence soever, which is done against the rule of his revealed will.

SECT.

SECT. XXX.

Whether the glory of God may be advanced by the sins of men.

Aff. IS the glory of God then never advanced by the sins of men? Doth not *St. Paul* suppose, that the truth of God may more abound through a mans lie unto his glory? *Rom* 3.7. and doth he not expressly say, *that where sin abounded, grace did much more abound?* *Rom.* 5.20.

Judg. It is true, that God, who in the creation brought light out of darkness, yea made all things of nothing, can when he pleaseth bring good out of evil, and raise honour to himself out of those very actions, whereby he is most of all dishonoured. Yet we cannot say properly, that his glory is advanced by any sinful action, but only that is advanced in it, or through it. Not by it, as by the cause, but in it, or through it, as the occasion

sion. And if this were a sufficient warrant for a man to do any thing amiss, that God will work himself honour out of it, the same plea might serve to justify any the most hainous offences, and enormous crimes, that the devil himself can ever devise to tempt men to. Our rule then must be to enquire, not what is inconsistent with, or contrary to that advancement of the glory of God, which he will raise unto, and work out for himself, but which he directeth us to labour for, and would have to be aimed at, and intended by us: and that, as before, is the honour that accrews to him by our obedience.

SECT.

SECT. XXXI.

Some means sometimes probably conducible to the supreme and principal, if necessarily destructive of, or inconsistent with, a particular subordinate end, are not always to be used.

Aff. SO much for the third, that means destructive of the supreme must not be used, though they might be available for subordinate ends. What is the fourth caveat?

Judg. The fourth is this. What ever means is effectually conducible unto the supreme and general end of all things, if withal it be destructive of, or inconsistent with, the particular subordinate end, for which you stand ingaged, you must resolve to let it alone, and not to meddle with it, unless the particular subordinate end it self be such, as may be for-

forborn, without any hinderance at all unto the general supreme end: and unless that means be so necessary, that the general supreme end cannot be obtained without it by any other means. Thus for them that preach the Gospel to live of the Gospel, is effectually conducible unto the advancement of the glory of God: who hath ordained, that he *that is taught in the word should communicate unto him that teacheth him in all good things, Gal.6.6.* But for St. *Paul* to take wages of the Corinthians, amongst whom he conceived it necessary for him to preach the Gospel freely, was, though not unlawful in it self, yet so unfit for him, that he resolves *it were better for him to die, then that any man should make his glorying void. 1 Cor.9. 15.* I will onely adde one caveat more, and then I think I shall have said all that is necessary for the resolution of your second question, and that shall be this. What ever means you apprehend, or is offered unto you, as effectually conducible to any end, consider well, whether there be not some

other

other effect, of another nature and of more important consequence, likely to follow thereupon, rather then run the hazard whereof, it were better to forbear the use of that means unto that end, and wait the opportunity of some other means, that may not be subject to the like inconvenience. Thus *Amaziah*, intending war against the Edomites, thought it a good means to strengthen himself, by hiring 100000. mighty men of valour out of Israel for 100000. talents of silver: but being warned by a man of God, that the assistance of the Israelites was like to bring a curse upon the whole design, he rather chose to loose his 100000. talents of silver, and separate the army of Israel to go home again, then run so great an hazard, as by retaining them he should have done. 2 *Chron.* 25. Thus *Achish*, although he were confident enough of *David's* fidelity, and thought that he and his men might do him good service in his wars against Israel, yet when he was put in minde, that *David*, for his own interest, was likely to be an adversary

sary to them in the battel, sends him away. 1 *Sam.*29. So though *David* had a minde to go forth with the people to battel against *Absolom*, yet was he easily perswaded to tarry in the city, when he understood that it was better, and that the loss of half the people would not have been a matter of so great importance, as the hazzard of his person onely, 2 *Sam.*18.2, &c.

SECT. XXXII.

Men eminently virtuous, or notoriously vicious, how far to be trusted, and adhered unto, or shunned and declined.

Aff. SIr, I thank you: you have said so much already, to give me satisfaction in those two particulars, wherein I have desired your advice, concerning the proposal of the ends which I ought to aim at, and the choice of the means, which I should use to those ends; that now, for the other two, concerning that esteem,

esteem, which I ought to have them in whom I observe to be richly adorned, with eminent graces, or notoriously overtaken with false opinions, or evil practises, I think I may be able to answer my self: *viz.* that I must onely so far trust and adhere unto the former, as I finde both their ends and means to be good; and onely so far forth decline and shun the latter, as I see that they either propose unto themselves some evil ends, or use bad means, of purpose to attain unto those ends, which they propose unto themselves, whether good or bad. For by your former speech I perceive, you would have nothing false or evil, embraced, nor any thing that is true and good indeed, rejected, upon any occasion, or under any pretence whatsoever; nor any thing looked upon as such, either good and true, or evil and false, out of any respect, that either partiality, or prejudice, in any kinde, can cast upon it; but only as reason ruled by religion shall manifestly make it appear to be such.

SECT.

SECT. XXXIII.

Partiality and prejudice two great occasions of confusion in the world.

Judg. YOu apprehend me rightly: and I heartily wish, that you and all others, were not onely perswaded of the necessity, but would also be careful in your practice to make use of that rule. For the neglect (if I may not more properly say concerning some, the contempt) of this caution breeds as great a confusion in the world, as almost any thing beside: so apt men are to take all things upon trust from them, of whom they have once entertained a good opinion, and to dislike whatsoever they see proceed from them, whose persons they like not. Thus *David*, having said of *Abimaaz* the son of *Zadok*, he is good man, presently adds, and cometh

cometh with good tidings, before he knew what the tidings were, 2 *Sam.*18. 27. And *Gedaliah* would not believe, that *Ishmael* intended any treachery towards him, though *Johanan* and all the captains of the forces, that were in the field, endeavoured to perswade him to it, *Jer.*40.13, &c. And *Achish*, though to please the Lords of the Philistines he yeeld to cashier *David* and his men, yet will not forgoe his good opinion of him, 1 *Sam.* 29. 6, &c. But on the contrary, *Joab* will not be perswaded, that *Abner*, who formerly had made himself strong for the house of *Saul*, came to *David* to *Hebron*, with any other intent, but onely as a spie to deceive him. 2 *Sam.* 3. 25. When *Saul* was once grown jealous and afraid of *David*, his own son *Jonathan* goes in danger of his life, if he offer but to speak a good word for him, 1 *Sam.* 20. 30, &c. Yea *David* himself misled by the slanderous report of *Ziba*, will scarce give good *Mephibosheth* leave to plead his own innocencie, but cuts him off from his just apologie, with this short answer, *why speakest thou any*

more of thy matters? I have said, Thou and Ziba divide the land, 2 *Sam.* 19. 29. And therefore it hath alwayes been one special point of Satans subtilty to garnish errours with great names, and to cast all the scorn and contempt, that possibly he can, upon the patrons of truth: together with an overweening opinion of some mens worth, to steal into the minds of the multitude an implicit perswasion, that they must not entertain any sinister suspition of any thing that is said or done by them, and by infusing into their affections, an utter dislike of other mens persons, to turn their stomachs against any thing, that they see practised or approved by them. Thus *Balak* makes no question, but he shall prevail against Israel, if he have *Balaam* on his side: for saith he, *I wote that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou curseſt is curſed. Num.* 22. 6. And *Micah* having entertained a priest of his own consecration in his house, saith, *Now I know that the Lord will do me good, seeing I have Levite to my Priest. Judg.* 17. 12, 13. Yea *Simon* the sorcerer, giving out that himself was some

some great one, so bewitched the people of *Samaria*, that they all had regard and gave heed unto him, from the least to the greatest, saying, This man is the great power of God, *Acts* 8.9,&c. On the other side, *Ahab*, hating *Micaiah*, hath no minde to hear him, yea though he knoweth, and telleth *Jehoshaphat*, that by him they may enquire of the Lord, yet he resolves before hand he shall hear no good but evil from him, 1 *Kings* 22. 8. This made *St Paul* have so much adoe among the Corinthians, because there were some, that thought of him, as if he walked according to the flesh, and stuck not to say plainly, *His bodily presence is weak, and his speech contemptible*, 2 *Cor.* 10. 2, 10. Thus the chief Priests and Pharisees, yea even *Nathaniel*, an Israelite in whom was no guile, at first had an hard opinion of our Saviour himself, for his very countrys sake, *search and look, for out of Galilee ariseth no Prophet*, say they, *John* 7.52. *And can there any good thing come out of Nazareth*, saith he, *John* 1.46. These as the two great rubs, that usually lie in the way of religion, I suppose St.

Paul endeavours to remove from amongſt the Corinthians, when he would have them learn not to think of men above that which is written, *that none of you*, ſaith he, *be puffed up for one againſt another*, 1 *Cor.* 4. 6. And he gives the reaſon of that weighty charge, which he layes upon *Timothy*, to preach the word, and to be inſtant in ſeaſon, and out of ſeaſon; For ſaith he, *the time will come, when they will not endure ſound doctrine, but after their own luſts ſhall they heap to themſelves teachers, having itching ears: and they ſhall turn away their ears from the truth, and ſhall be turned to fables*, 2 *Tim.* 4. 3, 4. And therefore that general rule which he gives, 1 *Theſ.* 5. 21, is of perpetual uſe, *Prove all things: hold faſt that which is good*,

SECT.

SECT. XXXIV.

What difference is to be made between the opinions and practises of men eminently vertuous, and notoriously vicious.

Aff. WOuld you have men make no difference then between the opinions and practises, of those that are generally known to be orthodox, honest, and religious, and those whose credit hath already been crackt, and liable to just exception for errors and enormities, whereof they may be apparently convicted? For I presume your instances already given reach not so far, but onely to false, or vain, unjust, or ungrounded surmises and suspitions onely. Or do you think it is to no purpose, that our Saviour saith, *A good tree bringeth not forth corrupt fruit; neither doth a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit*, &c. *Luk.* 6.43, 44,45.

Judg. Yes I deny not, but there is a great difference to be made, between the opinions and practises of men eminently vertuous or vitious indeed; yea, if they be but generally reputed and esteemed such: but that difference must reach no further, but unto the first apprehension which we have of them, not to the final resolution, whereupon we must settle, and set up our rest. The consideration of the persons, whose opinions or practises they are, may give us just occasion to suspend the censures, which at first we may think them worthy of, until we have further examined and tried them. Or rather indeed for the honour that we owe to truth and holiness, and the detestation which we should have falshood and wickedness in, we ought to do so. But when it comes to the upshot, that we are to resolve which side we will sit down upon, or as our Saviour speaks of the choice we would make between two masters, whether we will hate the one, and love the other, or else hold to the one, and despise the other, then the adhe-

adherent circumstances of the persons must be wholly laid aside, and the things themselves must be considered, as they are, or as they ought to be: otherwise we may be much mistaken. An handful, yea a grain of wheat is no less good corn, because it is covered with an heap of chaffe, and tares are tares, although they be shed amongst good seed. Dead flies will send forth a stinking savour, even in the oyntment of the Apothecary: and a jewel of gold should not be undervalued, although it be found in a swines snout. But it may be you look for examples rather then similitudes: and the holy Ghost in Scripture hath furnished us with those, as well as these. That mirrrour of divine, and miracle of humane wisdom *Solomon*, even he whose name was called *Jedidiah*, beloved of the Lord, 2 *Sam.*12.25. yet loved many strange women, who when he was old turned away his heart after other gods, 1 *Kings* 11.1,&c. Even *Peter*, that made that famous confession concerning our Saviour, *Thou art the Christ the Son of the living God*, and received from him that

excellent atteſtation, *Bleſſed art thou Simon Bar-Jona, for fleſh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven*: ſhortly after preſuming to adviſe his maſter, as he ſuppoſed for his own good, receives this ſharp reproof, *Get thee behinde me Satan, thou art an offence unto me: for thou ſavoureſt not the things that be of God, but thoſe that be of men, Mat.* 16. 16, &c. And though he ſeemed to be a pillar, yet St. *Paul*, when he ſaw that he was to be blamed, made no ſcruple to withſtand him to his face, *Gal.* 2. 9, 11. It were eaſie to be almoſt infinite in inſtances of this kinde: and to confeſs the truth, it is a more ordinary thing to finde a little folly in him, that is in reputation for wiſdom and honor, as *Solomon* ſpeaks, *Eccleſ.* 10. 1. then to obſerve in them, that are notoriouſly evil, any thing worthy of praiſe and imitation. And yet we are not altogether deſtitute of examples to that purpoſe. Even *Balaam* that loved the wages of unrighteouſneſs, 2 *Pet.* 2. 15. yet bleſſed Iſrael more then once, *Num.* 23. and 24. *Ahab*, that did ſell himſelf to work wick-

wickedneſs, and did very abominably in following idols, yet took ſo to heart the judgements threatened againſt him and his houſe by the Prophet *Elijah, that he rent his clothes, and put ſackcloth upon his fleſh, and faſted, and lay in ſackcloth, and went ſoftly,* 1 *Kings* 21.25,&c. Yea upon *Elijahs* motion, he ſent unto all the children of Iſrael, and gathered the Prophets of *Baal* together unto mount *Carmel*, and permitted them by *Elijahs* direction, to be apprehended and ſlain, 1 *Kings* 18. 20, &c. *Jehu* took no heed to walk in the law of the Lord God of Iſrael with all his heart: yet he deſtroyed *Baal* out of Iſrael, and did well in executing that which was right in the eyes of the Lord againſt the houſe of *Ahab*, 2 *Kings* 10.28,&c. Even *Pilate*, that condemned our Saviour, and *Judas* that betrayed him, and one of the thieves that was crucified with him, teſtified his innocence. Yea the Devil himſelf acknowledged Chriſt to be the holy one of God, *Luk.* 3. 34. and *Paul* and his companions to be the ſervants of the moſt high God, and the Goſpel which

which they preached, the way of ſalvation, *Acts* 16.17. So hard it is, or rather impoſsible to finde any wiſdom or goodneſs upon earth ſo pure and perfect, but that there may be obſerved in it ſome courſe allay of errour, ignorance, or evil; which ought to be entertained with no more reſpect, then poyſon in a golden cup: and ſcarce is there any man ſo deſperatly given over to a reprobate mind, but that in one particular or other, at leaſt now and then, ſome beams of truth, and ſparks of honeſty, may be diſcovered in his words and actions, which ought no more to be rejected, or deſpiſed, then pearls in a dunghil to be troden under foot. And though it be true, which you alledg, *that every tree is known by his own fruit: and that out of the abundance of the heart the mouth ſpeaketh*: to which you may add that of St. *James*, *Jam.* 3. 11, 12. *Doth a fountain ſend forth, at the ſame place, ſweet water and bitter? Can a fig-tree bear olive berries? either a vine figs? ſo can no fountain both yield ſalt water and freſh.* Yet withall you muſt remember what the Prophet

Prophet *Jeremiah* saith, *The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked, who can know it? Jer.* 17.9. and St. *Paul, Gal.*6.3,4. *If a man think himself to be something, when he is nothing, he deceiveth himself. But let every man prove his own work, and then shall he have rejoycing in himself alone and not in another.* A regenerate man hath not one fountain alone in him, but two; a fountain of nature, and a fountain of grace: and that of nature is never so quite dried up in this life, but that it will sometimes be dropping, if not pouring out some of its own salt bitter water. And though unregenerate men be not trees of righteousnes, that planting of the Lord, which bringeth forth spiritual fruits of grace, yet many times there may be gathered from them those blossoms of truth, and buds of moral obedience, which a sanctified servant of God, for the matter of his opinions and practises, need neither be ashamed, nor afraid to use: and having brought them, as metal, to the royal standard of the word, and tryed them there, if the fault appear to be want of

weight

weight or fineneſs onely, he may let them paſs for good bullion, though not for currant coin. And if every tree be known by his own fruit, it is not enough to look upon the fruit, but we muſt taſt it too, that we may know what kinde the tree is of. And when we have all done, it is not the taſting of ſome fruit alone, that can aſſure us the reſt, that comes from the ſame tree, is all of the ſame kinde, unleſs withal we can certainly tell, whether the ſtock and branches all grow naturally of themſelves together, or have been graffed on: Nay rather, by the different taſt of the fruit, we may perſwade our ſelves, that either the ſap is not the ſame, wherewith it was nouriſhed, or not alike conveyed unto it.

SECT.

SECT. XXXV.

A multitude muſt not be followed to do evil, nor the doing of good abſtained from, though it be to avoid the ſociety of a multitude of evil doers otherwiſe.

Aff. THis that you ſay peradventure may be true concerning the opinions and practices of ſome few particular perſons, that I ſhould not take them upon truſt from them that are generally well eſteemed of, nor reject them becauſe they come from ſuch men, as are commonly ill reported of: but what ſhall I do, when I ſee ſuch opinions and practiſes generally received, or rejected, by whole multitudes, it may be by all, that I either know or have heard of, to be ſuch?

Judg. In ſuch a caſe you have the leſs cauſe to be doubtful; but yet withall take heed you be not too confident: for you

you must not follow a multitude to do evil; no, nor abstain from doing good, though it be to avoid the society of a multitude of evil doers otherwise. A multitude of honest well meaning men may be led aside, out of the wayes of truth and holiness, into the by-paths of errour and wickedness, by the subtil suggestions of a few deceivers: and the devil himself doth not alwayes work so powerfully in the children of disobedience, but that some good opinions and practises may be retained, even amongst whole multitudes of them. Thus for the former, ten of the twelve men, that were sent to search the land of *Canaan*, bringing up an evil report of the land, which they had searched, set all the congregation of the children of Israel on murmuring; so that *Caleb* and *Joshuah* could not stil them: yet *Moses* & *Aaron* regarded not the greater number; nay God himself took part with the two against the ten, *Numb.* 13. and 14. Two hundred men out of *Jerusalem*, that went in their simplicity, and knew not any thing, were drawn into action of rebellion against

againſt *David*, by his traiterous ſon *Abſolom: and the conſpiracy was ſtrong*, ſaith the text, *for the people increaſed continually with Abſolom*, 2 *Sam.* 15. 11, 12. One Benjamite, a man of *Belial*, *Sheba* the ſon of *Bichri*, with a blaſt of a trumpet, and a words ſpeaking, draws all the men of Iſrael, to go up from after *David*, to follow him: even then, when they were in the heat of their quarrel with the men of Judah, for pretending more intereſt in *David*, then themſelves were willing to acknowledge that they had, 2 *Sam.* 19. and 20. When *Peter* at *Antioch* withdrew, and ſeparated himſelf, fearing them that were of the circumciſion, the other Jews diſſembled likewiſe with him, inſomuch that *Barnabas* alſo was carried away with their diſſimulation: yet *St. Paul* withſtood him to his face, and ſticks not to ſay plainly, that he was to be blamed, and that they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the Goſpel, *Gal.* 2. 11, &c. So for the later, The Phariſees, though hypocrites, and ſuch as had made the word of God of none effect by their traditions:

yet

yet in the point of the resurrection were so orthodox, that in behalf thereof they make a party for St. *Paul* against the *Sadducees*, *Acts* 23.6, &c. Thus *Festus* saith, *It is not the manner of the Romans to deliver any man to die, before that he which is accused, have the accusers face to face, and have licence to answer for himself, concerning the crime layd against him*, Acts 25.16. and verse. 27. *It seemeth unto me unreasonable to send a prisoner, and not withal to signifie the crimes laid against him.* Though the Romans were in other things given up unto a reprobate minde, as St. *Paul* complains, *Rom.* 1. 28. yet this care in the publick administration of justice, to proceed, not upon suspicions or surmises, but *secundum allegata & probata*, was nothing the less commendable in them, or necessary to be practised by others. For as the same Apostle speaks, *Rom.* 2.14, 15. *When the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these having not the law are a law unto themselves. Which shew the work of the law written in their hearts: their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the*

mean

mean while accuſing, or elſe excuſing one another. Therefore, as it followes verſe 27. *Shall not uncircumciſion, which is by nature, if it fulfil the law, judge thee who by the letter and circumciſion doſt tranſgreſs the law?* And as our Saviour, *Mat.* 12. 41, 42. threateneth the Jews, that *the men of Nineve, and the Queen of the ſouth, ſhall riſe up in judgement with them, and condemn them; becauſe they repented at the preaching of Jonas, and ſhe came from the uttermoſt parts of the earth, to hear the wiſdom of Solomon,* yet they neglected and regarded not him, though greater then *Jonas*, and greater then *Solomon*. So if we take upon us to be more ſincerely affected unto truth and holineſs, then other men are, and ſuffer our ſelves, in matter of opinion or practiſe, to be overſwaied & carried away with partiality and prejudice, that we would rather ſell the truth, then purchaſe the diſpleaſure of them, whoſe perſons we have in admiration becauſe of advantage; and hazard the comfort of a good conſcience, by neglecting the diſcharge of the neceſſary duties, that we owe to others, rather then incur an

unjuſt uncharitable cenſure, ſuch as the Jews caſt on our Saviour himſelf, when they called him a friend of Publicans and ſinners, thoſe honeſt heathens ſhall riſe up in judgment againſt us, and condemn us, that ſaid, *Amicus Socrates, amicus Plato, ſed magis amica veritas*: &, *Tros Tyriuſque mihi nullo diſcrimine agetur*. Yea, we our ſelves ſhall be our own judges, either that we profeſs that which we ſhould not, becauſe we practiſe not that which we profeſs; or elſe that we practiſe not that which we we ſhould, becauſe we profeſs that which we practiſe not. And ſelf-contradiction, in what kinde ſoever, in word or deed, or both, muſt of neceſſity be ſelf-condemnation: unleſs we can produce ſome authentical charter from heaven, whereby we our ſelves are priviledged, exempted from the common condition of mankind, and allowed liberty, as often as we liſt, to new mould the nature of truth, and to make our own expedience alone the rule of our obedience both to God and man.

SECT.

SECT. XXXVI.

The Conclusion.

Aff. SIr, I thank you for this favour, in that you have thus freely imparted your minde unto me. And now methinks some of those things, which you have said, in answer unto my demands, if rightly applyed, might be of good use, for the deciding of those differences, wherewith our Church and Commonwealth are now distracted.

Judg. I doubt not but they might: and to that purpose I often make use of them my self in private, for mine own satisfaction; & so may you do, if you will. But I will not presume in a business of so great importance, to publish mine own opinion to others, unless by authority I were required, or allowed so to do. And, to deal plainly with you, I think, that though you, and I, and others, may privately seek satisfaction for our

ſelves, and finde it, according to that information which we have, yet no man can be fit for that imployment, whereby publick ſatisfaction in this caſe ſhould be offered unto all, except he be very well acquainted with every conſiderable circumſtance: and eſpecially, unleſs he be ſuch a one, as hath been honoured, and entruſted with the knowledge of thoſe *arcana imperij*, the ſacred ſecreſie whereof might ſeem to be profaned, if they ſhould be expoſed to the view of the vulgar. Therefore let us leave that reſolution of thoſe doubts, which others look for, unto them to whom of right it appertains to give it: and humbly beſeech the onely wiſe God, the fountain of all goodneſs, ſo to govern the counſels, and give ſuch a bleſſed iſſue unto the endeavours of all thoſe that ſit at the ſtern of the ſtate, to guide the great affaires of Church and Commonwealth, that the ſucceſs of all their conſultations, and actions, may be the turning of his hand upon us, purely to purge away our droſs, and take away

away all our tinn, that his rest amongst us may be glorious, who is the blessed and onely potentate, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords: who onely hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto, whom no man hath seen, or can see: to whom be honour and power everlasting. *Amen.*

A Postscript.

ALthough, when I penned the precedent discourse, in the year 1642, I had much occasion to conceive, that many men were apt to be misled, into errours and enormities, by false pretences and principles, by factious prejudice against some, and partiality towards others; yet I did not suspect that the malady was, or would be accompanied with so much malignity, as since that time hath shewed it self, in rendring some men deaf unto divine direction, and incapable of cure, by making them willingly ignorant, or rather wilfully insensible of their sickness, and to dote upon their diseases themselves, as if they were signs and symptoms of their health: but hoped at least, that gentle applications would have been sufficient to digest, or to disperse the distempered humors, before they were grown to any setled

and

and confirmed ſtrength. Therefore intending to endeavour the prevention, or diſcovery, of ſuch deceits, both in my ſelf and others, by a brief and plain repreſentation of what I thought conſiderable, in divers particulars of important concernment relating unto matters of opinion and practiſe, I reſolved to do it in the mildeſt, and moſt familiar manner that I could, even ſtriving to decline the ſpeaking out of thoſe concluſions, the premiſes whereof I ſtudied to fortifie as ſtrongly as I could, and bring mens affections to be guided by their judgments, rather then their judgements to be ſwaied by their affections. I deſired to imitate the practice of *St. Paul*, who ſaith of himſelf, 1 *Cor.* 10. 31. *I pleaſe all men in all things, not ſeeking mine own profit, but the profit of many, that they may be ſaved*, and 1 *Cor.* 9. 19, &c. *Though I be free from all men, yet have I made my ſelf ſervant to all, that I might gain the more*, &c. Or rather to obey thoſe precepts of the holy Ghoſt, by the ſame Apoſtle, *Gal.* 6. 1. *If a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are ſpiritual reſtore ſuch a*

one in the spirit of meekness: and 2 *Tim.* 2. 24, 25. *The servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men; apt to teach, patient: in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves.* But now (*Apr.* 5. 1662.) considering what gross impieties have been practised, what devillish doctrines have been divulged, what horrid villanies have been acted amongst us, since that time: especially in the most execrable murther of our most gracious Soveraigne King *Charles* the first, with all the circumstantial aggravations of it, the antecedent preparations thereunto, the concomitant adjuncts, and consequent effects thereof: as St. *Paul desired to be present with the Galatians, and to change his voice, because he was in doubt of them,* *Gal.* 4. 20. being *afraid of them, lest he had bestowed upon them labour in vain, ver.* 11, and threatened the Corinthians, *that if he came again he would not spare,* 2 *Cor.* 13. 2. So intending to make that discourse more publick by the press, which for almost twenty years space hath passed thorow many private hands, in written copies onely, I finde my self much inclined

clined, though not to alter any thing material in it, yet to change my voice, and to ſpeak out the exorbitancies of the three great wheels, upon which the motions of all our miſeries have turned, Popery, Presbytery, and Popularity, (rightly underſtood, as I have ſaid elſewhere, with relation to their rebellious principles, opinions and practiſes) ſo loud, as that thoſe who are deafeſt, if withal they be not dead in thoſe treſpaſſes and ſins, might be awakened to repentance, and thoſe that have yet any kindneſs for them, might be aſhamed of their own inadvertency, when they ſhould hear them apparently convinced of notorious guiltineſs, in thoſe four particulars, which in that diſcourſe I have endeavoured to diſſwade men from, falſe pretences and principles, factious prejudice and partiality. But conſidering withal, that much hath been done to that purpoſe already by others, eſpecially in the Myſtery of the two Juntoes, and the Hiſtory of Independency; and conceiving it very difficult at leaſt, if not almoſt impoſſible, to uſe ſharpneſs, and ſpeak bitterly

terly against those enormities themselves, without a particular reflexion upon some mens persons, which would be a likelier means to alienate their affections, then to rectifie their understandings, I set down my rest upon my former resolution, and have altered nothing, either in respect of the notions or expressions, from that which I had written at first. Nor will I now add any thing more, but only a serious admonition, and earnest exhortation, unto all them that have read, or shall read that discourse, to consider, how much it concerns them to take heed, that presumptuous sins have not dominion over them, and that they may be innocent from the great transgression of Self-contradiction: which first or last will be sure to bring with it self-condemnation: to beware of giving credit unto false pretences, of building their opinions upon false principles, of giving entertainment unto any unjust, uncharitable prejudice against, or too indulgent partiality towards others. Especially to take heed, that they do not pull down more by their practise then they build up by their

their profeſſion, nor by their actions bolſter up and underprop the very ſame things, which by their opinions they pretend to demoliſh and pull down. For mine own part I think, that of the three great wheels, upon which, as I ſaid before, the motions of all our miſeries have turned, it is not eaſily to be reſolved, whether Popery have been more beholding to Preſbytery, or Popularity; Preſbytery to Popularity, or Popery; Popularity to Popery, or Preſbytery: or which of the three is the greateſt enemy to Catholick Chriſtian Principality and Prelacy. But, oh, what a ſtrange kinde of Self-contradiction would it be, if thoſe that profeſs they love and honour them both, and do it indeed, ſo really and cordially, that they would not ſpare their eſtates to do them good, nor fear to adventure both limbs and lives in their defence, ſhould yet in the courſe of their converſations fight againſt them, by obſtinately diſobeying their holy, juſt, and good Commandments, and not theirs alone but Gods alſo? Out of queſtion, an Orthodox Libertine, a Schiſmatical Saint, an

an holy heretick, a covetous conformiſt, a proud Prelatiſt, a riotous Royaliſt, are all of them equally contradictions *in adjecto*, and each of them as odious in the ſight of God & of all good men, as any of the reſt: what ever ſucceſs they may have for a time, at laſt they will finde that prediction of our Saviour true, *Every plant that my heavenly Father hath not planted ſhall be rooted out. Mat.* 15. 13. And that cenſure of St. *Paul* will one day fall heavily upon them all, *Therefore thou art inexcuſable, O man, whoſoever thou art that judgeſt: for wherein thou judgeſt another thou condemneſt thy ſelf: for thou that judgeſt, doſt the ſame things, Rom.* 2. 1. When *Jeruſalem* had grievouſly ſinned, *Lam.* 1. 8. God in the indignation of his anger deſpiſed the King and the Prieſt, *Lam.* 2. 6. Nor is it only violent reſiſting the power of Governours, but obſtinate diſobeying their authority alſo, that tends to the depriving their people of them; and may be, if not the means whereby, yet the meritorious cauſe for which God may be provoked ſo to puniſh them. Subjects ſometimes may ſay of their Soveraign,

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as the Prophet *Iſaiah* doth of our Lord and Saviour Chriſt Jeſus, though not in the ſame ſence, *Iſ.* 53. 5,6. *He was wounded for our tranſgreſſions, he was bruiſed for our iniquities. All we like ſheep have gone aſtray, we have turned every man to his own way, and the Lord hath layd on him the iniquity of us all.* Great need we have all therefore to take heed, that none of us preſume to keep a courſe in any ſin, for fear leſt by that we ſhould, though but unwittingly againſt our wills, take part with our profeſſed enemies, Rebels and Traitors, to deprive both our ſelves and others of that happineſs, which we might all enjoy in the proſperity and peaceable government of thoſe higher powers which would be the miniſters of God to us for good, if we did well; to whom we muſt be ſubject, not for wrath, but for conſcience ſake; and for whom we are exhorted by St. *Paul*, 1 *Tim.* 2. 1, 2. *firſt of all to make ſupplications, prayers, interceſſions, and giving of thanks; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godlineſs and honeſty*: which then onely we can hope to do, when (as the ſame Apoſtle beſeech-

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eth the Epheſians, *Eph.*4. 1, &c.) *we walk worthy of the vocation, wherewith we are called, with all lowlineſs and meekneſs, with long-ſuffering, forbearing one another in love: and endeavouring to keep the unity of the ſpirit in the bond of peace. When we are no more children toſſed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the ſlight of men, and cunning craftineſs, whereby they lye in wait to deceive; but ſpeaking the truth in love, grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Chriſt:* to whom be honour and power everlaſting. *Amen.*

FINIS.

ERRATA.

PAge 10. Line 5. *read* end may, *p.* 16. *l.* 9. *r.* abode p. 23. *l.* 3 *r.* like a. *l.* 20. *r.* concluding. p. 24. *l.* 20. *r.* carelesly, *l.* 21. *r.* shall finde, p. 27. for Paul *r.* John, p. 33. *l.* 15. *r.* the same, p. 35. *l.* 4. *r.* fift. p. 39. *l.* 15. *r.* as is, p. 58. *l.* 26. *r.* therefore, p. 65. *l.* 23. *r.* former, p. 73. *l.* 20. *r.* Davids. p. 86. *l.* 16 *r.* to take, p. 87. *l.* 4. *r.* your, p. 88. *l.* 6. *r.* Thess. p. 90. *l* 20. *r.* to take. p. 101 *l.* 8. *r.* nor. p. 110. *l.* 23 *r.* I am. 4. 12. p. 111. *l.* 4. *r.* to be. p. 113. l. 12. *r.* yea though p. 116. *l.* 6. *r.* John. 18. 11. p. 117. *l.* 20. *r.* could. p. 119. *l.* 18. *r.* may be.